

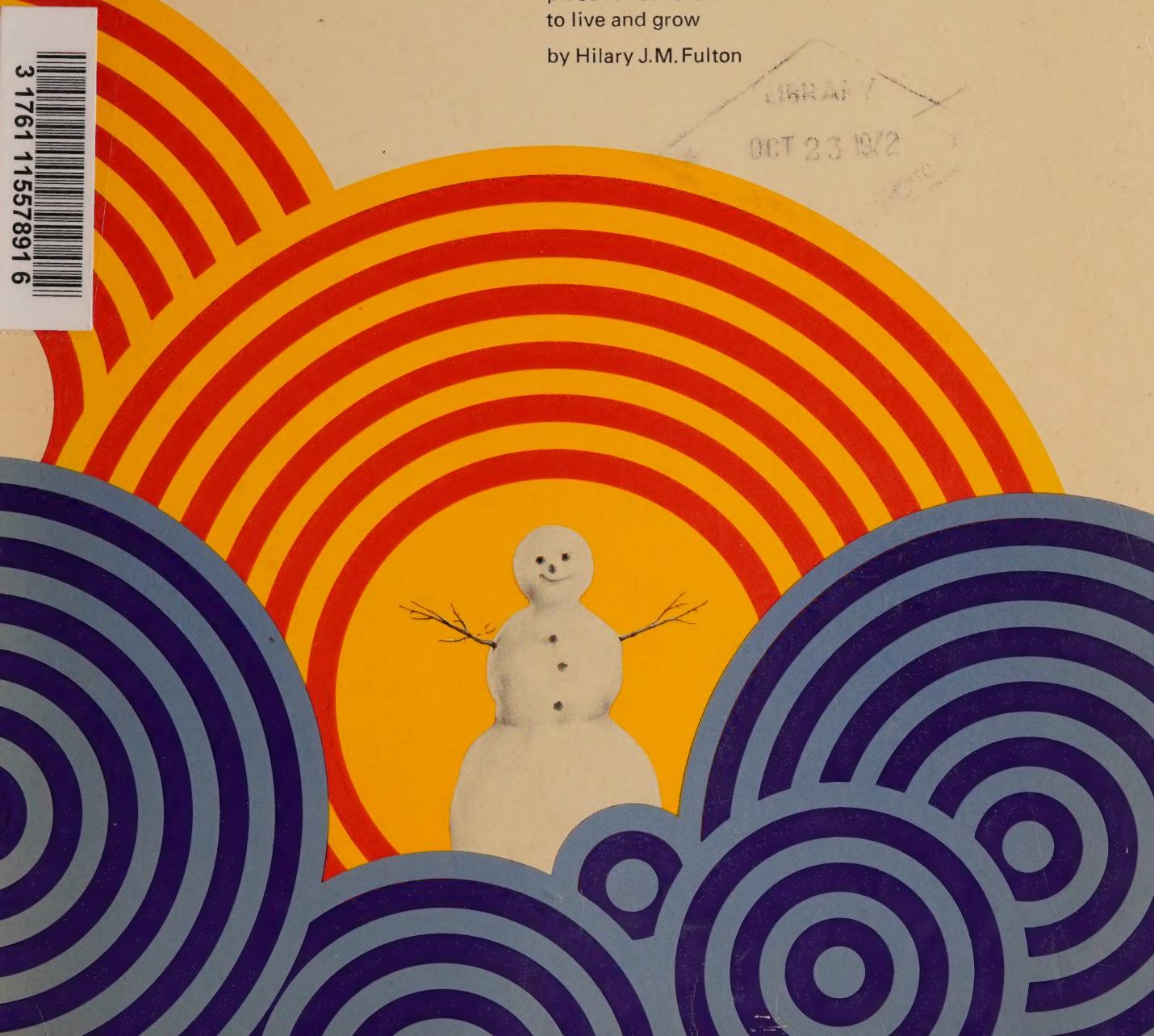
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The Melting Snowman

The Canadian
Indian Residence as a
place for children
to live and grow

by Hilary J.M. Fulton

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Indian Residence as a
place for children
to live and grow

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Student Residence Services
Education Branch
Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development
Ottawa, Canada

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Foreword

The Education Branch of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development operates 43 Student Residences throughout Canada for some 6,000 Indian children who must live away from home in order to attend school. Originally established as residential schools, these institutions became Student Residences as a result of the growth and development of Indian communities and the extension of provincial school services to Indian reserves.

Basically, the Residences, through some 450 child-care workers, look after the daily needs of the children. It is recognized that the healthy emotional, social and mental growth of these children will depend upon a child-care program in which their needs are understood and met. For this reason, the Education Branch considers it essential to promote the professional development of child-care staff by way of continuing in-service training, workshops, seminars and the provision of reference materials.

The care of children in residential institutions generally has been undergoing continuous transformation, in keeping with current knowledge of child growth and development. While much has been said and written about institutional care, particularly for emotionally disturbed children, there is a conspicuous absence of literature about the care of children who bring to the institutional setting cultural values and attitudes that are significantly different from those of the dominant society. It is necessary for the child-care worker to understand the culture of the Canadian Indian if he is to work in a constructive and unpatronizing manner.

The Education Branch is pleased that Hilary Fulton was able to undertake this timely assignment. A graduate of McGill and, more recently, a staff

member of the University of Manitoba, Hilary's broad knowledge of child development and cultural anthropology and her experience in working with Indian children make her well qualified to write this book. In the "Melting Snowman" she expresses her views professionally and candidly. The opinions expressed, however, are her own, and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

D. Kogawa
Head, Student Residence Services
Education Branch
Department of Indian Affairs
and Northern Development

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped me to bring this book into existence. It was Dave Kogawa's idea to start with and, without his invitation to write it, together with his encouragement and suggestions along the way, I would never have dreamt of being so bold.

The ideas expressed in the book were drawn largely from my experiences in a number of the Indian Residences during in-service training workshops held there this past year by Tony Lund and myself. I would like to thank him and all of the child-care workers I met for sharing so much information and so many ideas. I learned a great deal from them.

I would also like to thank all those who lent photographs to be used in this book and helped by kindly consenting to their Residences being photographed. Had I known earlier in the year that I would be preparing this book, I would certainly have requested permission to take photographs in other Residences, too.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Geoffrey, whose support encouraged me to undertake this project.

H.F.
Birtle, Manitoba,
July 1971

Introduction

Standing in the hallway of an Indian Residence at half past four of a winter's afternoon it is easy to believe that one is at the centre of the world. Life whirls around. Hockey sticks flash on the rink outside, a snowman takes shape, guitars are playing and there are sounds of children's laughter. The kitchen staff move into high gear; the matron is called to attend to a minor accident; office and maintenance staff behind the scenes ensure that the world will continue to spin. For the present this is the centre of the world.

For how long will it be so? To the children building the snowman, the wet snow is a reminder that the school year is nearing its end and that they will soon disperse to the Indian worlds of their parents in the north. The teenagers playing their guitars are rehearsing for a school concert: they attend day school in the white community nearby and for some time now, they have been aware that the people of that small town think of themselves as being at the centre of the world.

Where is the centre of the world? Is there such a place? To many people, it is oneself, and the world is the world one knows and belongs to. This can be a harmless notion when applied to a mature, confident individual who has travelled and experienced enough to have learned that he can adapt to living almost anywhere in the large world he has come to know. It can be a menacing concept in terms of a selfish person who has a narrow view of which world is worth belonging to. He will undoubtedly try to see the world entirely on his own terms. If he is strong, he will impose his ideas on others. If he is weak, he will withdraw to a tiny world of isolation in which he will refuse to adapt to the ways of others, or to the changes that will come his way. To the children who live in Indian Residences, and to the child-care

workers they befriend, defining the worlds to which these children belong is a never-ending task.

To the child-care worker, the responsibility of helping these children develop into mature adults requires that he have an appreciation of where the world of the Indian Residence fits into the larger, adult world. How does it fit as an institution? as a child's world? as a place for Indian people to come and go from? There are no simple answers to these questions—the world we live in changes too rapidly for that. By exploring them from time to time, however, new perspectives may be developed on the position of the Indian Residence.

Indeed, the process of periodic adjustment can be seen throughout the history of the Indian Residences. Missions evolved into Residential Schools which, in an agricultural era of Canada's development, concentrated on agricultural training for the students. Later, in an industrial era, they tried to school the Indian children for life and work in an industrial society. The federal government's policy of integrating Indian people into the broader Canadian society has resulted in a gradual change from Residential School to the Residence from which children attend day school in white communities. Many internal aspects of Residence life have constantly been modified in line with some of the changes that have taken place in institutions and Canadian society generally during this century. Many ideas and approaches to childrearing have also altered the Residences, just as they have throughout Canada.

However, the situation today is far from static. Current concerns in Canada about child rearing, the use of institutions and, perhaps most importantly as far as the Residences are concerned, the status of the Indian people, demand that those who concern themselves with the Indian Residences should con-

tinue to evaluate, explore and find new perspectives to meet the needs of the times.

Throughout the following discussions, a two-fold approach has been seen as necessary because the Indian Residences serve two basic functions of child care. They are concerned, on the one hand, with meeting the needs of each child as an individual and helping him grow to be a unique, strong, mature person, who can take care of himself. On the other, they are concerned that this child learn how to live with other people; that he take into himself the values of the society in which he lives. This understanding of social values is more complex than usual in a Residence because there is often conflict between the values of the Indian and white societies which the children encounter.

This two-fold approach represents an age-old quandary—which is the more important: the individual or the society? The question constantly arises in terms of economic systems, the punishment of criminals, methods of government, literature, and so on. In the area of social work it can be seen in the changing of approaches from “individual casework” to “community development.”

Individual social casework was first developed at the turn of the 20th century, a period when the notion of “self-help” was popular. The “self-made man” and the “rugged individualist” were the heroes both in real life and in the fiction of the time. It was felt by many that man’s destiny was in his own hands and that by his own efforts, he could surmount most of the obstacles in his path to success. Casework attempted to help the individual strengthen himself so that he could carry on the struggle.

At present people are acutely aware of the influence of environment on their lives. We live in an age of mass media, international corporations, pop-

ular social movements, urban sprawl. There is a widespread notion that, for all his willpower, it is a rare person who can disengage himself from the economic policies of government and big business, racial prejudice, the educational system and so forth. At best, he can adjust, but he can never free himself of them. If his condition is to improve—the theory goes—his environment must be improved. The attempt to improve the social environment is what has been referred to as community development.

An example of how these two approaches might be applied occurred in a small isolated community, where there was a strong undercurrent of tension between the Indian and white residents. Some of the latter, complaining about the Indians, pointed out, by way of example, an Indian woman who was separated from her husband and who lived with her several small children. She was subject to occasional heavy drinking bouts during which she neglected her family. “Why, they even gave her a brand new house right in town (i.e., amongst the white people’s houses) and you can guess what a mess it’s in now...”

The casework approach to helping this woman would be to help her strengthen her inner self: to develop the psychological and spiritual strengths to overcome her drinking problem. The alternative approach would be to see this woman as part of a community in which she is affected by the way others behave towards her. How much of this woman’s misery and anti-social behaviour is a consequence of her neighbours’ unfriendly attitude? It is doubtful whether she would be able to find sufficient strength to become serene and happy again if her social environment were to remain the same. The community approach would be to help establish communication between the Indian and white residents of this com-

munity generally, with the aim of improving the social environment.

As in any situation where one is concerned daily with people and practicalities, there is no need to adopt an "either/or" attitude to these two basic approaches. Ideally, perhaps, one can try to incorporate them both into any social situation, making sure that one remembers both the importance of seeing people as individuals and of creating an overall climate in which they can grow. In the following discussions an attempt has been made to consider both individual and social aspects of the Residence as an institution, on child rearing ideas and of working with youngsters in general.

Chapter 1

The Institutional Setting

**“A basic social arrangement
in modern society is that individuals
tend to sleep, play and work
in different places, with co-participants,
under different authorities, and without
an overall rational plan.**

**The central feature of
total institutions can be described
as a breakdown of the barriers
ordinarily separating these
three spheres of life.”**

Erving Goffman, “Asylums”

Institutions abound in our society. Most of us are quite familiar with ones such as schools, universities, recreation clubs, hospitals, insurance companies, government departments, families, supermarkets, and many others. We go in and out of one or more of these every day. Although each affects us in some way (and, hopefully, we affect it), no one of them governs our whole life: if things go wrong at school, we come home and relax; if things go badly at work, we can go to the curling club.

There is another type of institution with which most people have little familiarity. When they do experience it, it is generally for a relatively short period in their lives. These institutions have been referred to as "total institutions" since, unlike the ones mentioned above, they encompass the total life of those who live in them. They include homes for those who cannot look after themselves; such as emotionally disturbed children, the chronically sick, and the aged; prisons for those who are considered a threat to the good of the community; retreats from the materialistic world, such as convents and communes; and establishments which have been set up to undertake specific tasks, such as an army, a boarding school, an isolated northern mining community and an Indian Residence.

While there are some obvious differences in the aims of these institutions, there are certain things they have in common in the daily process of living. The most basic is that all are concerned with living with a large group of people in similar circumstances. The question that must constantly be asked is "Which is more important, the individual or the group?" Living in an institution, regardless of how conscious one is of this question, there will be times when the individual will give way to the group. The positive and negative aspects of this situation com-

bine to produce an overall climate in any institution, an atmosphere that is more than a simple sum of advantages and disadvantages. A brief review of some of the advantages and disadvantages of group living may, however, provide guidelines for the Residences, the institutions with which we are particularly concerned.

Most institutions tend to have a large number of residents as compared to staff, with a single administrative authority in charge. Activities tend to be programmed so that the daily routine runs smoothly and toward the overall end of the institution. As a result, and to avoid confusion, the people who live there generally have to do things all at the same time, such as eating, sleeping, playing, working. The main problem that seems to arise is that the overall aim of the institution can easily become subordinated to the desire of the staff (and sometimes even the inmates) to keep that routine flowing smoothly and efficiently. Ken Kesey's novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* provides an example of one type of institutional behaviour, although it is possible to interpret his book as an illustration of behaviour that can be observed in many walks of life. How often, in school, for example, is a vivacious, enthusiastic child punished for "stepping out of line"?

This process of denying the individual, that occurs so easily in any institution, can be further described in terms of regimentation, alienation from oneself, and other negative processes when it is carried too far. Of course, in less extreme cases, the same process is called "socialization". For most people, however, socialization and individualization find a better balance in institutions that are governed only by a single authority. There is another way of looking at what happens to an individual in an institu-

**“The multiplicity of ways
in which the inmates must be considered
ends in themselves, and the large numbers of inmates,
forces upon the staff some of
the classic dilemmas that must be
faced by those who govern men.**

**Since a total institution functions
somewhat as a state, its staff suffers
somewhat from the tribulations
that beset governors.**

**In the case of any single inmate,
the assurance that certain standards
will be maintained in his own
interests may require sacrifice
of other standards; implied in this is a difficult
weighing of ends.”**

Erving Goffman, “Asylums”

Twelve years old and a complete
stranger she had come in to see me,
nervous yet determined. She sat awkwardly in the chair
opposite and told me bizarre tales
of violence, quarrelling,
attempted murder, screams,
knives and drugs. Her cheeks were flushed, her eyes
glittering bright and
black, darting back and forth.
Her mouth twisted a little
between words. “Being Indian’s not good” she informed
me gravely, and went on to explain why with the
unhappy wisdom of an old, old woman.

Next morning I asked who she was, this
child in whom wisdom and fantasy, violence
and obvious physical weakness
were so confused and so remarkable.

“Must have been one of the Seniors.”
“No? Then I think it was a Junior.”
“No? An Intermediate, then—Isabelle—
she’s always seeking attention.
“No? Margaret then... or Kathy? Rose?...”
“I think she told me her name was Josephine.”
“Oh, Josephine, Yes, she’s like that.
Actually, I’m quite surprised at her.
She’s usually very good... no trouble at all.”

Anonymous

tion, however, whereby we can observe some of the more positive advantages it has to offer.

Even though an institution may be a poor substitute for home so far as a person from a happy family is concerned, for those whose real home situations are far from ideal, an institution can offer a place to belong. One is at least known there by friends and staff—no one disputes one's right to be there like any other inmate—and one is accepted much as one is. The alumni associations, Legions and other gatherings of the former members of various groups are evidence of the desire to perpetuate this feeling of belonging. For most of those who attended task-oriented institutions such as school, the army, or the mining camp, the memories that stay with them are happy ones and the institution has thus given them bonds of friendship and a past to romanticize.

Having established that one belongs, one usually begins to identify with the various images projected by the institution. For example, if one is part of a military battalion that has a history of bravery in combat, one begins to think of oneself as a brave fighter (and also to become concerned about living up to the code of behaviour of a brave fighter). If one goes to a school where the pupils have a reputation for courtesy, one begins to think of oneself as a courteous person (and tries to live up to that image). If one attends a Residence whose best athletes consistently win athletic competitions, one begins to identify with their successes (and to feel successful in the company of others). In the same way, of course, if poor images are projected by the institution, the inmates will identify with them. Let us assume, however, that in any institution, especially one for children, there are many opportunities for positive images to be projected.

Indeed, just as a myth can be perpetuated that a certain battalion produces great fighters, or a Residence great athletes, so can other myths be created: for example, that the battalion produces not only brave, but chivalrous fighters; that the school produces not only courteous people, but people with initiative; or that the Residence produces not only good hockey players, but youngsters proud to be Indians. These myths come, quite simply, from what one chooses to emphasize about oneself or about others. One does it in simple ways—by praising one person, by ignoring or denigrating another; by the stories and anecdotes one recounts, and by the ones one ignores; by the images one surrounds oneself with in terms of art, and so forth. One can do this, of course, to the point of living in a world of fantasy, in which the images and myths have very little to do with the physical limitations of life. An example of this might be a person who has delusions of grandeur. However, reinforcing the more positive ways of looking at oneself and life does help people to establish their own identity by giving them confidence to evaluate themselves fairly.

For those who live there, the overall climate of the institution does not depend on these advantages and disadvantages alone: the encouragement of individualism on its own is not enough, neither is the creation of image. Both contribute, however, to the growth of a sense of self. Furthermore, the overall climate is not simply a sum of these two aspects: it would be impossible to enumerate all of the irrational and unpredictable factors that come into play. The personalities of individuals, and their effect on the groups of which they are part, unexpected events—all play their part. The final climate that evolves could be likened to a work of art in whose creation all have participated.

Children's institutions

In Canada, most children's institutions have been homes for children whose parents were, for various reasons, unable to care for them or whose behaviour made it difficult for them to function in schools for normal children. In this respect, the Residences differ from these institutions, being more like boarding schools for children whose families live in isolated parts of the country where there are few day schools.

In other respects, however, trends which have been noted in children's institutions in Canada generally can also be seen in the Indian Residence. For example, there has been a movement throughout Canadian institutions in which they have changed from the mere physical care of children to caring for their emotional, social and intellectual growth as well. A growing awareness of the disadvantages of group living for children has led to trends towards "de-institutionalizing" the institution—maintaining and encouraging each child's individuality—and towards involving the parents in the institution's program.

What has been said about institutions in general can also be applied to institutions for children. In order to apply it usefully, however, we must take a closer look at the specific functions that children's institutions perform. The first is to take care of each child's needs on an individual basis; the second, to see that each child learns how to function in the world outside the institution. The first could be said to be looking at institutional life from the point of view of the individual child in the institution; and the second, looking at it in terms of the child's social development.

Meeting individual needs in an institutional setting is not easy. For the sake of simplifying ad-

ministration and daily routine, children placed in institutions are generally fitted into categories, the end result being a "home for delinquent girls", a "home for emotionally disturbed children" and so forth. This can also happen within an institution when children are typed according to their reasons for admission. For example, Jack, who was admitted because he had been in trouble with the law at home, becomes stereotyped as "Jack the delinquent". Marlene, who was constantly in trouble for "precocious behaviour" in the Intermediate Girls' Dormitory, suddenly became "normal" when she was allowed to move in with the Senior Girls. The danger that must be constantly guarded against in children's institutions where this type of categorizing or grouping is used is that the staff may come to see the child in that way, instead of as a unique individual who is growing and changing.

It is very difficult for any adult to give individual care and attention to more than a few children at a time. For this reason, standards concerning child-staff ratios have been developed for the care of children who must be in institutions. These range from one adult child-care worker to every five children, as recommended by the Child Welfare League of America, to other estimates which are a little higher when the adult caring for the children has been trained as a group worker. The recommendation might then be for one adult to eight or ten children. To meet these standards the "group home" and "cottage" system have been developed for children who need special care.

Since most of the children in Indian Residences would not normally need to live in an institution were it not for the lack of schools near their homes, the comparatively large populations of the Residences are perhaps not as harmful as they would

A two-way process

A way of looking at a child's life in any institution
(home, family, boarding school, residence, etc.)

Institution in the child

being of a social group
larger than oneself

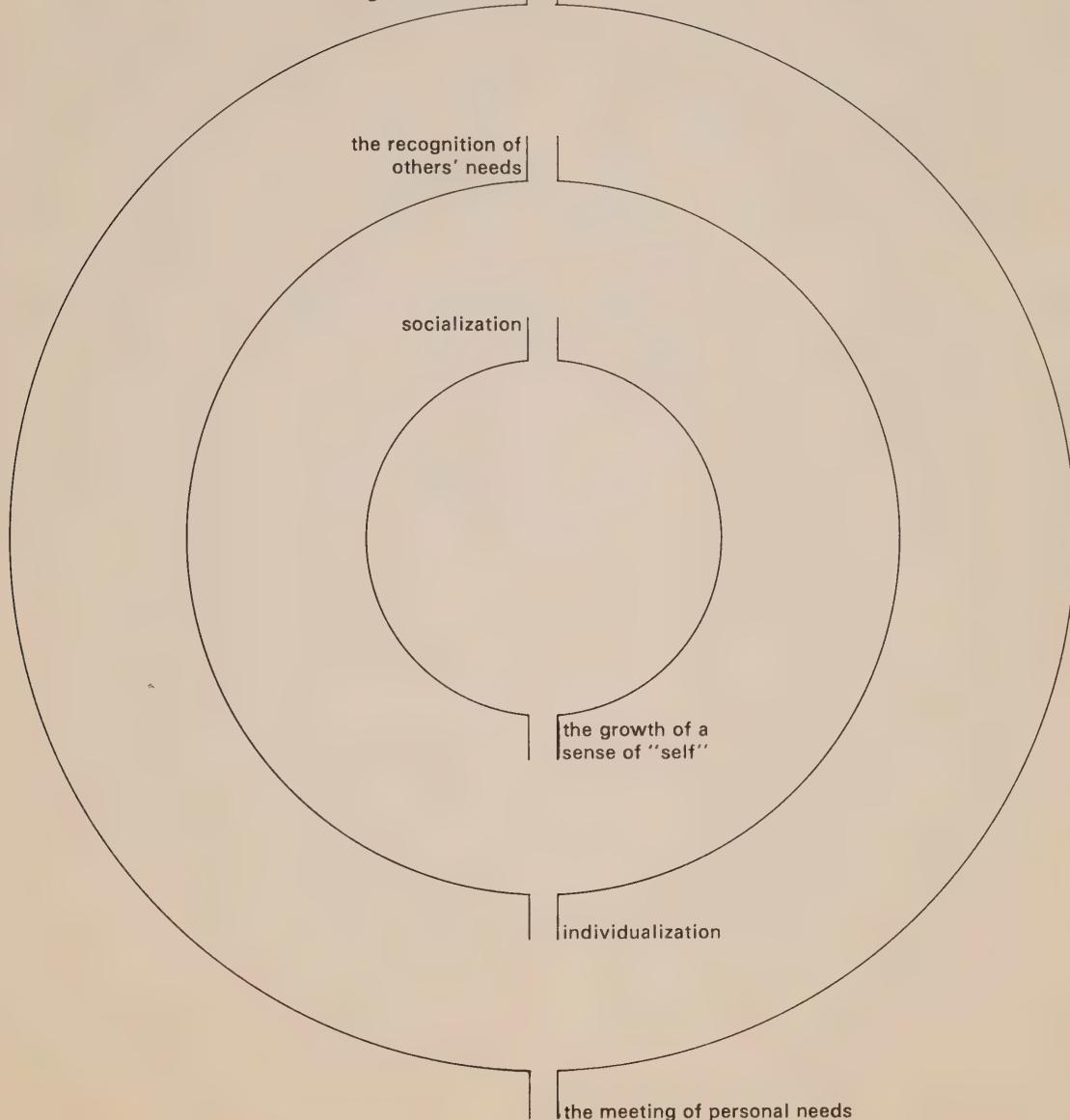
the recognition of
others' needs

socialization

the growth of a
sense of "self"

individualization

the meeting of personal needs
Child in the institution



seem in other children's institutions. Nonetheless, a trend has already begun in some Residences to break this large population into a number of smaller units which allow for more individuality. Dormitory groups of twenty or more children of the same age and sex have, in some instances, been replaced by cottages for twenty boys and girls ranging from six to sixteen who live, family-style, with a married couple.

The second function of a children's institution, mentioned above, is that of guiding their social development. Because childhood and adolescence are the most impressionable periods in a person's life as far as developing social values and attitudes is concerned, this function is much more important in an institution for children than in any institution for adults. Children learn to behave like adults largely as a result of what they see and understand adults to do. While children learn a great deal from their peers, it takes an adult to show how to behave maturely in any situation and to discuss the values by which the child will choose to live his life.

Not all values are discussed, however. Much of our own behaviour as adults is governed by values of which we may be scarcely aware. We may live in cluttered apartments, not so much because we do not value tidiness, but because we value the stimulation of books and magazines around us; we may shun being seen talking to a person of another race and culture, not so much because, consciously, we value him less than other men, but because social pressures make us afraid that we, ourselves, will be valued less if we are seen associating with him.

As we go about our daily business in an institution for children, our values, attitudes and feelings rub off on the children, even when they are not explicitly discussed. If, for example, they are always

cared for in large groups, where they learn to conform for the sake of administrative convenience, they will probably grow up expecting to conform in their adult lives, too. To a limited extent, this sort of socialization may produce people who can be counted on not to jump queues; too much, and it may produce people who blindly follow the leader whether the situation is "keeping up with the Jones" or a riot. From such lessons, children learn values—whether to be dependent or independent, whether to be a bully, forcing others to do things your way, or to be concerned about how others feel.

The values of the staff help to set the overall climate of an institution. The more the staff are aware of their own personal values, the more they will be able, consciously, to set the tone of the institution. For example, in a home for emotionally disturbed children, the staff will be responsible for creating a climate in which the children discover that they are considered to be "problems", or one in which they learn that they are considered lovable and potentially talented. In an Indian Residence, the staff will be responsible for the acceptance of one of two possible social attitudes: one that is commonly held in many parts of Canada at present asserts that Indian children are "culturally disadvantaged"; the other, more positive attitude, recognizes that the children's Indian culture has some advantages to offer white society.

The values that the institution teaches a child help determine how he sees the rest of the world. Although they are called social values, they eventually feed back to the child to affect his self-image. We have come full circle to where we started in our concern for each individual child in the institution. In real life, of course, it is impossible to divide a child's growth clearly into "the growth of the indi-

My Moccasins

vidual" and "socialization": there is a never-ending inter-play between the two. By separating these two processes in our own minds, however, we can help to make sure that neither is being neglected.

Indian Residences

As more schools are being built in the remote parts of Canada where many Indian communities are settled, the pressure on the Residences has eased. In some areas, this has allowed more attention to be given to the reasons for the admission of each child. Children with special needs are now more easily recognized and, when necessary, an increasing amount of help can be given. Health and welfare services for children are becoming better developed in Canadian communities generally, and resources for helping these children are increasingly available. The most important link in this chain of services for children from isolated Indian communities is frequently the child-care worker in the Residence who can recognize when special services are needed.

This too, is in line with the trend throughout children's institutions in Canada: fewer children are being referred to large institutions, while the severity of their problems, in some places at least, seems to have increased. The apparent increase in the proportion of children coming to Residence with emotional or social problems can be explained, to some extent, by the fact that with fewer children and more staff they are more noticeable. The implication is not so much that the present generation of Indian children in Residence has more troubles than its counterpart of earlier years, as that the Residences today are in a better position to provide the individual care and attention that all children need and that some have always needed more than others.

**My moccasins have not walked
Among the giant forest trees
My leggings have not brushed
Against the fern and berry bush
My medecine pouch has not
been filled
With roots and herbs and sweet
grass
My hands have not fondled
The spotted fawn
My eyes have not beheld the
Golden rainbow of the north
My hair has not been adorned
With the eagle feather
Yet,
My dreams are dreams of these
My heart is one with them
The scent of them caresses my soul.**

Duke Redbird, "The Only Good Indian"

**“If only we could have the children twelve months of
the year instead of only ten—when they leave
here at the end of the school year they look so bright
and neatly dressed and so well-behaved...”**

**and at the end of the summer when it’s time for
them to come back to school you have to drag them out
of the bushes, and they’re so sullen and dirty...”**

Anonymous

**“It was likened to taking off
one set of clothes
and putting on another.**

**Examples of diet, living habits,
religious observances and
language all pointing to this
cultural switch depending on
the environment.**

**It can only be explained by
the lack of internalization
of the white cultural values.**

**The Indian child will submit
to the direction of the
white authority, but it is wrong
to equate this submission
with the internalization of the
value system.”**

Roy L. Piepenburg, “The Native People”
February, 1971.

“Total institutions frequently claim to be concerned with rehabilitation, that is, with resetting the inmate’s self-regulatory mechanisms so that after he leaves he will maintain the standards of the establishment of his own accord...

In fact, this claim of change is seldom realized, and, even when permanent alteration occurs, the changes are often not of the kind intended by the staff. Except in some religious institutions, neither the stripping processes nor the reorganizing processes seem to have a lasting effect, partly because of the availability of secondary adjustments, the presence of counter-mores, and the tendency for inmates to combine all strategies and play it cool.”

Erving Goffman, “Asylums”

The goal of education for which the Residences were first established has not been forgotten. Rather, the concept of education has broadened to include learning that occurs informally and continuously throughout a child's life. Far from the Residence being simply a place for a child to stay while attending day school, it is itself a place for growing and learning.

The function of socialization is always complex but usually fairly well understood in most children's institutions. It becomes rather more confusing in an Indian Residence. For which society is the Indian child being socialized? For Indian society? For Canadian society? What is Canadian society? Even that seems to vary according to whether one was brought up a French-speaking Catholic, an English-speaking Protestant, a bilingual Ukrainian Orthodox, or a Japanese-Canadian from the West Coast.

The question is perhaps not so puzzling when one is dealing with children whose families are part of a dominant culture. In other words, while Canadians come from many different national, cultural and language backgrounds, most of them, nowadays, grow up in towns or cities speaking English and/or French. They also tend to take for granted that that is how all people grow up and live. Children in most children's institutions share this background and rarely question the way they are taught to behave.

For the child in an Indian residence, things are different. Sometimes, he has not learned to speak English or French until leaving home to attend school hundreds of miles away. He may not have been in a town before, either. His parents may live in a small village. Their work is not in towns, but in the bush. They have little intention of leaving their home and community to move to the city—why should

they? and how would they live in a city where they are not trained to work? Where will this child go after he finishes with school and the Residence? Home to family and friends, though with poor prospects of finding work for which he is now trained? To the city with better prospects of finding work, though with no friends or relations?

This is the Indian child's future choice. We of the dominant culture used to worry that if we did not help the Indian children to "adapt to the white way" we would be responsible for their being discriminated against by other white people. Hence, the emphasis in the past was on doing things the white way and ignoring the Indian ways. This, of course, made it very difficult for the children and their parents when they returned home. The children's and their parents' rights had been taken from them—far from having been consulted, they felt themselves to have been insulted, since they had been given to understand that their Indian culture was worthless. On the other hand, had the Residences chosen to bring up the children strictly in the Indian way, they would probably have faced equal criticism because the children would then have been completely unfamiliar with the ways of the dominant Canadian culture, and therefore unable to opt for working and living in it if they chose.

When it comes to living in the real world of adults, thinking in terms of cut and dried alternatives—the either/or approach—is not very useful. In real life, things are rarely so black and white. They are more likely to be innumerable shades of grey. Why should a person have to make a final decision to live entirely in the Indian way or entirely in the white way? White society certainly contains enough facets that some workable combinations of Indian and white values can be found. Living in a

**“The gap between Indian
and white society is wide, but
it is not unbridgeable...**

**The bridges are the all-too-rare
human relations which
spring up between individual**

**Indians and whites. If, as is usual, the Indian child meets patronizing
and disparaging attitudes in his relations with
white teachers, merchants and officials, his
awareness of the social distance between himself
and them is intensified and his motivation to adopt
even their external characteristics is choked off.**

**If, on the other hand,
in social encounters he finds
respect for his abilities
and for the Indian experience
which has nourished those
abilities, he may have the
courage to explore new ways
of using his skills and
expressing his Indian nature.”**

Marlene Costellano, “The Only Good Indian”

multi-cultural society has its confusions but is surely one of the concepts on which Canadian society as a whole is based.

Perhaps a more realistic and up-to-date concept of the Residences' function so far as the socialization of children is concerned would be something like a bridge—a place from which children could have a look at both white, urban society and their own Indian society. On a bridge one does not have to go anywhere for a while, but is safe to explore the possibilities on both sides and perhaps venture in either direction without burning the bridge behind one. With so many children together in the Residence, possibilities exist for all sorts of interesting discussions and projects around this topic.

Quite apart from the fact that this is a much saner approach for anyone faced with a bi-cultural situation than trying to shut out one culture altogether, there is another very important reason for this approach. It has to do with success and failure in our society.

It has, for some time now, been a matter of concern among Indian leaders, parents and teachers that many Indian children have difficulties at school. Most start off eagerly and try hard, but many drop out after about grade eight. The overall feeling on the part of many of these young people is one of failure (certainly enhanced by the fact that, with grade eight, it is pretty hard to find a job). A chat with the youngsters is enough to see that there is nothing the matter with their intelligence.

The drop-out and failure picture is not confined to Indian youngsters. A very similar pattern can be observed among other children who have not been taught to be proud of their backgrounds—children from city ghettos being taught in schools geared to affluent middle-class children, black children who

form a minority in white classrooms. In all these situations, the educators have discovered that, unless the child has a positive, happy image of himself and feels fairly secure about what and who he is, he's not even going to get to first base in learning about the rest of the world. In other words, if the Indian children are to be helped to be more successful, they must learn to see their Indian heritage as something to be proud of, not as something to be ignored and glossed over while they try to become like white people.

As we discussed earlier, myths not only exist but can be created. As for helping the Indian children to develop pride in themselves, the child-care staff can do much to help by considering which of two possible myths they wish to see perpetuated in their Residences: "the children here are culturally disadvantaged" or "the children here are proud Indian Canadians". Whichever is chosen, and reinforced, it will have a profound effect on how the children see themselves and, therefore, how they will react to the world around them.

Chapter II

Childhood in Different Societies

'The pressure to make a choice regarding vocation comes on the Indian child just when he is becoming aware that he is more than the child of his parents; he is, inescapably, a member of society, but which society, Indian or white? It is futile to tell an adolescent that life's options are not so clear-cut and unequivocal as he believes them to be.

He is poised between childhood and adulthood, often vacillating between the two, and the additional ambiguity is intolerable.

So he feels compelled to plunge into decisions which become irreversible.

Marlene Costellano, "The Only Good Indian"

Concepts of "child" and "childhood"

In the same way that people's ideas vary according to the society in which they live, so their notions of "child" and "childhood" also vary. The role of the child in any society will depend on the physical limitations imposed upon the people by their environment, their values and their way of life. Thus, for example, differences can be observed between, say, how children are seen in a Canadian city now and that same city a hundred years ago, or between, say, a Japanese city and a Canadian city today.

Children are also seen differently according to the life-styles of people who live in what is essentially the same culture. For example, in the early part of the industrial era, life was fairly tough for most people living in the then new urban areas. Many children were born, but not so many survived. Every child who did survive was a burden to his family unless he could earn his keep. Not being able to do as much work as an adult, or to earn as much money, he was generally regarded as a small and somewhat inferior adult. It was only as industrial society gradually became more affluent that the well-to-do could begin to look with horror upon the child labour practices which we now regard as barbaric. As machinery was invented, our fathers became freed from manual labour and began to devote more time to matters of the psyche. Canadian society generally became more affluent, and there was less need for children to work at earning their living until they were older—in their teens, at first, and now for many, in their twenties. Accordingly, in our society, childhood and adolescence are now seen as times of preparation for the rest of life. The full responsibilities of adulthood are put off until, for an increasing number, the early twenties—after one has completed

some post-high school training. A child is now seen, not so much as a miniature adult, but as an embryonic person who is going through a stage in his life that is marked by developmental learning processes.

Those of you who have visited or seen films of Expo 67 in Canada and Expo 70 in Japan will have noted the differences in the behaviour of the children. By contrast with the Canadian children, the Japanese children no doubt appeared generally more reserved, more orderly, less spontaneous. A Japanese observer might have described the Canadian children as more outgoing, more individualistic, less polite. These attributes occur not by chance, but because their parents see the role of childhood differently—the Canadian parents seeing it as a time when the child must develop his individuality; the Japanese parents seeing it as a time when the child must be socialized. Hence, the emphasis on the child's spontaneity on the one hand—never mind that adults are trying to visit with each other—and the emphasis on social propriety on the other, regardless of the fact that it is difficult for a child to refrain from interrupting to seek attention.

In looking at the differences between how Indian and white Canadians see children and childhood, one becomes aware of the differences between the traditional values of the two cultures, and the different life-styles in which the adults live. Not only does each society have its own world-view, but each is concerned with a different physical reality.

The Indian world-view, for example, includes the fact that once they were the only people living here, and now they are a minority among a larger, often alien, population. In the face of this situation, they are trying to survive intact, preserving the values and traditions of their past. The white world-view includes the fact that they comprise the majority of

This is our world.



the present population of Canada and that their social systems, such as schools, are geared for the average white person. They are caught up in the problems of their own progress and generally suppose everyone else to be in the same situation.

The Indian physical reality and way of life has generally to do with the natural environment. The Indians have traditionally lived off the land. They have developed a high degree of skill and established specific social structures in order to do so. The physical reality and way of life for most white Canadians has to do with urban living. In a similar fashion they have trained themselves for the tasks that this requires and have established (and are still establishing) a social order that will allow this way of life to proceed comfortably.

The Indian people value living close to nature, and also value the feeling of harmony that this promotes—despite the self-discipline it requires. In order to live in harmony with nature, one cannot waste life more than is necessary for survival. Hence, one does not accumulate many material possessions, and one must be prepared to move from time to time to fresh hunting areas. A good life in many respects, survival can also be a serious business and everyone must pull his weight, including the children. Boys and girls must undertake adult work as soon as possible and, accordingly, since they share adult responsibilities, they may also share adult celebrations. The boy who is considered old enough to go hunting with his father is also considered old enough to join in an adult party. Self-discipline in matters to do with work, such as hunting, is severe; it is less so in matters of less seriousness. By the time he is self-supporting, he is considered a full adult and is ready to marry and raise his own family. For many, this used to be in the mid-teens.

In white Canadian society, the acquisition of material goods and a high degree of physical comfort have been given high priority among our values. In order to maintain this standard of living we find ourselves having to spend longer and longer in school, learning how to operate the highly mechanized worlds which we have invented. Recognizing this, parents expect to have to support their children for about twenty years, during which time the child must develop the attributes which will enable him to survive in the white world—some technical ability, a pleasing personality for public relations and social skills necessary in the world of business, government and university, where white people place much value on the art of using words. The child spends much time learning to express himself, to develop his individuality, and the white school system expends much effort in grading and evaluating children according to these requirements. Since the child does not take on adult responsibilities at this time, he is also not expected to partake of adult pleasures. Even "children" in their late teens are subject to taboos against partaking of adult pleasures, such as drinking alcoholic beverages and participating in sexual activity. Such restrictions originated, in part from the need for children to keep at their studies and not encumber themselves with the responsibilities of marriage and children before their own period of preparation for life was completed.

These two quick sketches of the Indian and the white ways of life and their concomitant concepts of "child" and "childhood" are, of course, very static pictures of what are, in both cases, already bygone ages. The Indian people have been influenced by white ideas and implements, and the white people have been influenced by products of their own culture—"the pill" and "macro-economics".

	<i>Indian</i>	<i>White</i>
Parents' attitudes towards child...	<p>At age of mobility child is considered a person and left relatively free to explore his own environment. He develops a sense of independence and autonomy. He has limited stimulation and feedback from adults.</p>	<p>Child is watched and controlled by parents and remains dependent on them throughout childhood. He is not autonomous and has little opportunity to become independent. He has constant interaction and feedback from adults around him.</p>
Economic involvement of children...	<p>Children often involved in economic routines and pursuits of parents which sometimes mean frequent mobility for seasonal labour, baby-sitting while mother works, helping on fishboats, and with fruit picking. Illness of mother often means older siblings care for whole family; economic level of reserve may involve children in wood- and water-hauling and similar tasks.</p>	<p>Economic pursuits of parents seldom involve children; patterns tend to be stable and regular; mobility is low and participation of child in maintaining economic level is virtually nil; chores seldom interrupt routines of child; illness of mother and help with household chores usually handled by importing an adult.</p>

From: "A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada," Vol., II.

**Habit with him was all the test of truth,
“It must be right: I’ve done it from my youth.”**

George Crabbe, “The Vicar”

**Children of the future age,
Reading this indignant page,
Know that in a former time,
Love, sweet love, was thought a crime.**

William Blake, “Songs of Experience:
A Little Girl Lost”

**Do not do unto others as you would
they should do unto you.
Their tastes may not be the same.**

George Bernard Shaw,
“Man and Superman”, Act IV

Nonetheless, although the reality is rather more blurred than the pictures just described, herein lie the bases of some differences that may still be perceived between Indian and white parents' attitudes and goals for their children.

Child rearing theories

From these attitudes and ideas, people develop different theories concerning child rearing. It is perhaps worth remembering that, so long as the theory is a direct outcome of the society in which the people are living (and not a foreign importation), and so long as the children receive enough love and attention, most children seem to grow up to become fairly normal, healthy adults regardless of the particular theory held locally. Trouble is likely to occur, however, when the child is subjected to conflicting theories, (as is possible in a Residence for Indian children run by white adults), or when the theory no longer fits the society, (as for example, when changes occur in a society but certain adults refuse to recognize them, clinging to ideas that were appropriate during their own youth.)

Basically, theories on child rearing fall between two extremes: the authoritarian on the one hand, and the permissive on the other. The authoritarian notion is based on the belief that an adult must impose his (or his society's) values on the child, in order for it to learn to behave in a proper manner. This theory implies that values are absolute, or fixed, for all time and all places. Most people now accept that this simply is not so, no matter how much we would sometimes like to turn back the clock. Perhaps the biggest drawback to the most extreme authoritarian ideas is that, by always telling a child what he ought to do, the child does not get enough practice in working this out for himself. Consequently, when he

eventually leaves his home or institution and goes out into the world he is at a real loss for maybe two or three years while he flounders around trying to find the most appropriate (and safe) ways to react to the social situations in which he finds himself. Stories of young people from overly strict or sheltered homes who have suddenly "gone overboard" in terms of experimenting hastily with drinking or sex in their first years out of school are quite common.

The other extreme, the permissive notion, is based on the belief that it is best for the child to discover values for himself. This notion accepts the idea that values, like everything else, change gradually from time to time and from place to place. Thus, it is argued, no adult can know with sufficient certainty when it is right to impose his ideas on a child of another era. The drawback to this system in its most extreme form is that the child is very likely to run into trouble with other members of society, since he is bound to make a few mistakes at first. This might not be so bad, except that it produces a very uncomfortable situation for the child who would like some guidance and who may eventually feel that he is not getting it because no one cares.

In their extreme forms, neither of these approaches, the authoritarian or the permissive, will be comfortable for a child. Most adults will, however, place themselves somewhere in between the two. Where one is on this range will, to some extent, be determined by the society in which one lives, and by how one sees that society. For example, in Canadian society, as ideas regarding sex have become more permissive since the beginning of this century, so have most parents become more permissive with regard to their children's sexual behaviour — co-ed schools, dating younger, a more open attitude to sex education, and so on. Some adults who

see this as bad may react by becoming less permissive.

In the same way, adults may vary their position on this range according to the type of individual they are trying to rear. If one parent is trying to encourage the development of verbal skills, he may be very permissive about letting his son talk as much as he likes, even though he may be very strict about not allowing him to explore his interest in sex. Another parent may not consider sex anything to get upset about, but may consider it very ill-mannered for him to monopolize the conservation in the presence of adults. She will, therefore, be more authoritarian about when her child may or may not speak. The first parent may thus have helped to produce a rather garrulous, possibly over-intellectual person who may have difficulty later in enjoying adult sexual activity. The other may have helped produce a person of fairly healthy sensuality who can relate happily to others, but who may have difficulty in expressing himself adequately in words. These examples are not necessarily hypothetical—in our white society we have tended to follow the first example, whereas Indian parents have tended to follow the second.

When we refer to this range of approaches—authoritarian through to permissive—we are actually talking about discipline. As was discussed above, discipline can be imposed from "above" or "outside" the child by the adult in authority, or self-discipline can be developed from "within" the child, as a result of his having learned to think about the consequences of his actions. This will be discussed in more detail later.

In the Indian Residence

Anxious to do the best for them, some Indian parents with Indian ideas of child-raising have been sending their children to the Residence. There the children are being met by (mostly) white child-care workers, also anxious to do the best for them, but with various white ideas of child raising. Where their ideas differ, it is the children who find themselves wondering which way is "up". Of course, to help them, amidst this confusion (and furthering it somewhat) the children will seek support from their peers—the other children who find themselves in the same dormitory situation. As can be seen in the diagrams above and below, this peer group can have quite a strong influence upon its individual members, simply by force of numbers—especially in those Residences where the ratio of children to child-care workers is even higher than 20 to 1.

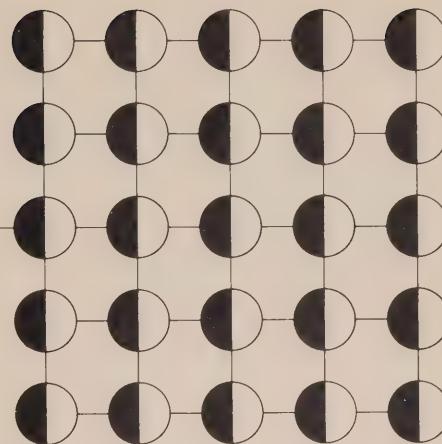
What we have just referred to as "confusion" could also be described as simply another sub-culture of the wider Canadian culture or society. (In the same way, Indian ideas of child-rearing are part of one sub-culture of Canadian society, French/Catholic ideas are part of another sub-culture, English/Anglican ideas are part of yet another, and so forth.) The values and customs of an Indian Residence are bound to become established as traditions or as a sub-culture in its own right, given that in many ways the Residence is a total institution with its own population, physical limitations, problems and practices that have grown up over the years. The diagram below attempts to illustrate where a Residence sub-culture might be placed in between the white and Indian sub-cultures.

The Residence's own sub-culture that develops may be a composite of Indian and white values, church goals (in a Residence where there are mem-

Child-care
worker



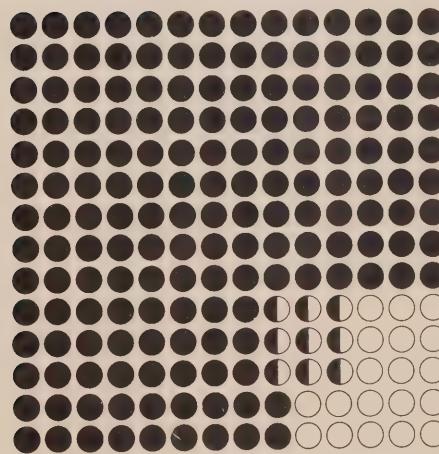
Children



Parent



Canadian culture



- White society
- Sub-culture
- Indian society

“Boys will be boys...”

**“And even that... wouldn’t matter if we could
only prevent girls from being girls.”**

Anthony Hope, “The Dolly Dialogues”

**The golden rule is that
there are no golden rule**

George Bernard Shaw, “Man and Superman”, Act IV

bers of religious orders on staff), and of white or church goals of an earlier period which have become fossilized instead of continuing to change with the world outside. This fossilizing of goals is quite common in institutional settings, and may be observed particularly in areas of life where there has been rapid change in the outside world; for example, where the Residence tradition of the girls wearing skirts to school may in some instances have lagged behind the now common custom in most day schools of allowing the girls to wear slacks during winter. Another example might be the careful segregation of the sexes in some Residences, despite the fact that nowadays, in the outside world boys and girls commonly work, play and even live together in normal families or in modern group homes.

There are many exciting possibilities in the idea of a Residence becoming a sub-culture or tradition in its own right. However, the need can be seen for a Residence to evaluate its goals and child-care principles periodically in order to assess whether they are being kept roughly in line with the changes that continually take place in the outside world.

A number of roles have been seen for the Residences. One that can be interpreted from the above diagram might be that of a bridge between Indian and white society. This interpretation makes use of the fact that, at present, most of the child-care workers in the Residence are white people who could see their roles as including the interpretation of white society to the Indian children. The role of the child-care worker could become even richer if he were an Indian adult who feels comfortable in both societies —he would then be in a position not only to build a bridge between Indian and white societies, but also between the traditionally separated Indian societies. As any Indian child knows, Indian society is no less

variegated than white society, and coming to Residence often provides an opportunity to get to know Indian people from many different places and even different language groups. Sometimes even bridging this gap is not easy, and an Indian child-care worker is in a position to help develop understanding here, too. Perhaps one of the most exciting aspects of a Residence sub-culture could be that the Residence has provided a focal point for Indian unity over the past few decades, and now has the possibility of becoming an Indian cultural centre as well as a centre for inter-cultural education. In some Residences already, Indian emblems blend elegantly with the decor of the modern youth culture to create what seems to be a new way of life. As both Indian and white societies continue to change, the Residences have much to contribute to what is emerging through the young Indian people of Canada.

Chapter III

The Individual Child in the Residence

**“In an ultimate sense,
the human being
may be unknowable,
but diagnosis is not
concerned with ultimates,
but with practical
working hypotheses.”**

Gordon Hamilton,
“Theory and Practice of
Social Casework”

With a limited amount of time and energy to spend on each of twenty to thirty children, it becomes important to make the most effective use of any time spent in a one-to-one relationship. Even a brief, straightforward encounter between two people can be seen as a number of processes that take place between the two and within each of them. To make discussion of this interaction possible, the three main processes have been identified and separated below into *perceiving*, *understanding*, and *responding*. In real life, of course, they occur together.

Perceiving

Listening, watching, and to a lesser extent, touching are our most frequently used methods of observing the people we work with. However, when we listen, do we really hear what a person is trying to tell us? When we observe someone's actions, do we really perceive what he may be telling us about his feelings, the type of person he thinks he is, or would like to be? How often do we use our ability to touch?

Dave is fifteen years old and in grade eight at school. He has not always done his homework and, over the past term, has played hookey a few times. Usually, he is a fairly active, good-humoured lad, but this afternoon when he came in from school he answered Ron, the child-care worker's cheery "Hi Dave: What's new?" With an almost inaudible "Nothing," and a stony expression on his face. "You don't look too pleased with the world," countered Ron. In reply, Dave muttered "F . . . ing books" and chucked his school books at the wall. "I'm gonna quit! That damn school's no use to me. And you never learn anything anyway. Just sit there and everyone laughs at you." With that, he flung himself onto the sofa in front of the TV.

Before thinking of how to respond to such an outburst, what does this incident tell us about Dave? Just that he has some rather negative ideas about education, or more? That right now he feels very angry . . . not just from the words he used, but also from non-verbal cues he gave: his tone of voice, what he was unable to say at first. What about the action of throwing himself onto the sofa in front of the TV? Is that the action of a person who wants to struggle with a problem, or of a person who feels his only defence is to "turn off" the real life and tune in to something less real? Is his statement "you never learn anything anyway" a statement about the education system or about himself?

Charles, aged eight, is in his first year at Residence, having been sent there this year after his father died, leaving his mother at home with several other younger children. Well-built for his age, attractive and bright looking, Charlie does not appear to have any close friends, although at times he invites attention from both the other boys and Gordon, the child-care worker, by being deliberately aggravating, whining, sulking and mimicking others. In his first couple of months in Residence Charlie wet his bed occasionally. He has frequently been the last to dress in the morning, usually requiring some assistance from Gordon. He has tended to dawdle behind the others on their way to school in the morning and when getting ready for organized games in the Residence—having to be constantly reminded, coaxed and chivvied along. As a result of being late he is often rather left out of group activities. Talking to Charlie about time does not seem to help. He had apparently been keeping up well enough with his schoolwork at home, but his new teacher informed Gordon that in class he was inattentive and falling behind the others.

Is there anything in the above observations of Charlie's non-verbal behaviour that could tell us something about him? Is the behaviour described appropriate for his age, physical and mental capabilities? Obviously not, although there would appear to be nothing the matter with his intelligence or his physical development. Gordon observed that the overall description of his behaviour was not unlike that which would be normal for a child several years younger than Charlie.

Understanding

Like perceiving, understanding requires a non-judgmental attitude on the part of the child-care worker. Again, it requires him to refrain from reacting in an impulsive, personal way until he has asked himself "What is the matter?" "What is the meaning of this behaviour?" When Dave muttered a tight-lipped "Nothing", it was obvious to the child-care worker that there was definitely "something", so, rather than ignore Dave, tell him to "Cheer up" or "Don't be so surly", the child-care worker wisely kept the conversation open. His words "You don't look too pleased with the world" were non-judgmental on his part, as though he were playing for time in an effort to find out what was the matter, without appearing too nosey. This process of understanding, evaluating or recognizing behaviour may seem stilted at first, but is more of an attitude on the part of the worker than a stage in the process that must be gone through before one can ever respond. The aim is not to understand the whole person completely before responding to him. Indeed, since all individuals are in a constant state of change, this would be a very false sense of knowledge or understanding. However, at any given point when working with children, there are moments of crisis—both hap-

py and unhappy—and the child-care worker should endeavour to be aware of feelings and to understand the connection between them and the behaviour.

Charlie's child-care worker pondered the connection between what he knew of the boy's life before coming to Residence and his behaviour since his arrival. His behaviour had regressed to that of a much younger child, and he wondered if perhaps Charlie was indicating that he would like to be something of a baby again: home with his parents, instead of being pushed out into the world like an independent young man. At any rate, Charlie's babyish behaviour was certainly making it difficult for him to relate to the other children in their dormitory and class activities. However, this behaviour also seemed to be the only way he knew to satisfy his desire for attention.

Responding

By now the distinction should be clear between an instinctive, personal reaction to a child's behaviour and a professionally aware response to the same behaviour. When Dave threw his books at the wall and swore angrily, Ron's immediate personal reaction was a slight shock at Dave's violent and destructive behaviour. Since Dave had responded thus to his overtures, it felt almost like a personal rebuff. At that point he could have reacted by ordering him to pick up the books, to stop swearing, to control himself, not to speak to him like that. If he had used any of these moves, the result could have been a slanging match between the two or, at the very least, the prevention of any further expression on Dave's part of the problem that was worrying him. Since there were signs that he was on the verge of dropping out of school altogether, this afternoon's outburst could indicate that Dave was in a crisis

- ¹non-judgmental attitude
- ²reflecting feelings
- ³acceptance of another's feelings

⁴encouraging expression of feelings

⁵helping to interpret feelings, to clarify the issue, to isolate and identify the problem

⁶building on strengths...

⁷caring—in deeds as well as words

situation where he would decide either to leave school or to try again.

Ron sat down quietly in a chair opposite. "You seem pretty angry about school," he said seriously. "Had enough of that damn school."

"How are you getting on there?"

"No good. That damn teacher always asking questions, and I'm supposed to answer in front of everybody."

"Oh? What class is that?"

"English."

"That's too bad. And do you get that in other classes too?"

"No."

"I guess it's tough being embarrassed like that. You seem to be doing quite well in math and science, though. How are you liking them?"

"They're O.K."

"Maybe we should get together this evening to have a look at your English and see if we can figure out where you're going wrong?"

"Huh. Maybe."

The arrival of the others put an end to this conversation. After supper Dave had cooled off somewhat. Ron followed up his suggestion to discuss his difficulties in English. Together, they managed to identify not only some areas where Dave was weak, but also some where he seemed to be managing. Dave continued to have difficulty with English and to grumble from time to time about school, but with Ron's support he was able to recognize that in some other areas he was doing well.

¹ Ron had responded with a comment similar to his previous one, postponing any desire to pass judgment on Dave's behaviour. His comment could also be perceived as having two other important functions:

² Firstly, he was helping Dave to become more aware of his own feelings by describing what he perceived—holding up a mirror to him. If Dave was to explore his predicament for himself, he needed to be able to see himself as well as the other people involved in the situation. Secondly, by voicing this perception and not passing judgment, Ron indicated acceptance of Dave's feelings, that he was taking him seriously. He thus left him an opening to continue expressing how he felt. With Ron's help, Dave was able to express his feelings further and in a calmer manner. He was able to recognize that his anger was an attempt to hide his acute embarrassment and disappointment with his difficulty in English, and that in fact he did not need to be mad at the whole school.

Ron showed a positive attitude towards Dave throughout the encounter by his assumption that there was more to his feelings than was immediately obvious. He also gave Dave support and encouragement about himself by steering the conversation into the areas where Dave was doing well, as well as into the areas where he was having difficulty. In so doing he was building on Dave's strengths and successes.

Finally, Ron showed Dave that he really did care about how he was getting along by following up his suggestion that they tackle his English problems that evening, and by continuing to take an interest in his work generally from time to time. Through his friendship, it became a little easier for Dave to make a commitment to keep trying with his English. Young people are very quick to perceive when an adult has mouthed fine sentiments but not acted upon them—such as saying they care about school results, but never bothering to find out from the student how he is managing.

How to tell the dancer from
the dance?

⁸non-verbal way of accepting
feelings, caring

⁹non-retaliatory attitude;
positive reinforcement

¹⁰positive reinforcement,
encouragement



⁸ Charlie's child-care worker changed his tactics from trying to urge the boy to dress himself faster, like a grown up, to helping him personally. In so doing, he was allowing Charlie to be a little boy again. This was done in a warm, friendly way, though without any undue amount of fussing or artificial shows of affection. When he was left out of the others' group activities, Gordon found ways for Charlie to stay near him, letting the boy help him in various ways.

Gordon said nothing about Charlie's whining ⁹and practice of mimicking to gain attention, concentrating mainly on praising him for his more sociable behaviour. He discovered that Charlie had a real aptitude for making collages and for artwork in general. He encouraged this, especially since it was an activity in which Charlie could progress at his own pace, and in which he was not under social pressure to relate to a large number of his peers at once.

As Charlie began to receive the attention and love that he wanted so desperately, he found he had less and less need to be unpleasant. It was still some time before he was able to make friends with one or two other younger boys, but he began seeking attention more through the types of behaviour that his child-care worker encouraged. Through his post-¹⁰ers that the child-care worker displayed on the walls of the dormitory and a perhaps not unexpected talent for mime at the Christmas concert, he gained a certain degree of admiration from the boys, which encouraged him to try to keep up with them in their activities.

¹¹asking the child to make a judgment

¹²showing realistic alternatives

¹³pointing out patterns of behaviour

¹⁴asking the child to make a commitment

¹⁵caring

Encouraging self-discipline through personal relationships

An issue that seems to be at the back of most adults' minds when they are confronted with the responsibility of bringing up, or helping to bring up, children is that of discipline. Occasionally this topic becomes confused with notions of orderliness and our own authority but, for this discussion, we will approach it from the viewpoint of an individual child's development. We will assume that our goal as child-care workers is the development within each child of self-discipline and acceptance of responsibility for his own actions.

When Ron discussed his schoolwork with Dave, it became obvious that Dave had deliberately avoided doing all of the homework that had been set in English, and that he had cut several of his English classes. At that point, Ron had the choice of either using his authority as a child-care worker to tell Dave what he must do, or using his social skills to help him to work it out for himself. If he had chosen to take the responsibility and initiative upon himself to judge what was best and to tell Dave to attend classes and do his homework, he knew he would thereby have removed the responsibility from Dave. He also knew that authority, like rules, exists only to be broken.

Accordingly, he chose to help Dave work it out

¹¹for himself. After helping him to identify the school problem as difficulty with English, and connecting this with not working at that subject, Ron asked

¹²Dave what would help him most. "More practice", Dave eventually mumbled reluctantly. He was loath to consider further, but Ron pointed out the alternative ways to get more practice that were open to him: in class with the teacher and the other students, or working alone without guidance. Dave thought

that it would be easier in some ways to attend the classes and be guided by the teacher.

Dave had still not made a decision to attend those classes. He was quite unhappy at the prospect of embarrassment in class. Ron recognized that. He also recognized that, without considerable support, Dave could easily rationalize dropping out. He put it to Dave that there was more involved here than merely getting good marks as far as the school was concerned. He pointed out that he had noticed Dave's tendency to want to drop out when things became tough, and wondered whether Dave thought

¹³that was a valid observation. Dave was quite surprised that Ron should have taken this much notice of him and was rather pleased. He had not thought about it before, but was able to recollect a number of occasions when he had done that. After thinking about it, he felt that it was not a good habit. He decided to attend classes for the rest of the term before reconsidering dropping out. This decision, related as it was to Dave's own life, was far more

¹⁴meaningful than a decision simply to please someone else. In a sense, Dave had made a commitment to himself. Since Ron had been instrumental in helping Dave to arrive at this point, he also felt himself responsible to some extent to help Dave keep to it. Ron made a point of hearing regularly from Dave how his classes went and, on the one occasion when he did skip a class, spent some time with him exploring what had gone wrong the previous day and

¹⁵why he had felt unable to attend. This was not a comfortable session for Dave. He discovered that having to face Ron after breaking his promise was the most unpleasant consequence of his behaviour. Since he valued his relationship with Ron, he decided not to jeopardise their friendship again by backing out of his original commitment.

**Love is a boy, by poets styl'd,
Then spare the rod, and spoil the child.**

Samuel Butler, "Hudibras"

**"If you strike a child, take care
that you strike it in anger,
even at the risk of maiming it for life.**

**A blow in cold blood neither can
nor should be forgiven."**

George Bernard Shaw, "Man and Superman"

**He never spoils the child
and spares the rod,
But spoils the rod
and never spares the child.**

Thomas Hood, "The Irish Schoolmaster"

¹⁶natural consequences

¹⁷logical consequence

¹⁸cross-cultural conflict

¹⁹clarification, explanation

²⁰importance of relationship

¹⁶ A child learns easily from the natural consequences of his actions. For example, going outside during winter without adequate clothing, he becomes cold. He can also learn from the logical consequences when these are pointed out by an adult—but only if the relationship with that adult is a friendly one. Where it is not, the logical consequences can easily be interpreted by a child as the adult's attempt to be punitive.

¹⁷ For example, when John returns to Residence late Sunday evening after a weekend with friends or relatives, he may find that he has missed supper. The child-care worker would say that, since the lad was not there at supper time, he assumed he did not want any and did not arrange for it to be put aside (a logical consequence of the boy's absence so far as the cook is concerned). In John's home, as in many Indian homes, however, supper time is very ¹⁸flexible, and a boy coming in late could always expect to be given a meal. The logical consequences of coming in late to Residence—namely, receiving no meal—do not necessarily seem logical to John. If he has a friendly relationship with him, the child-

¹⁹care worker might be able to explain that, not only is a fixed mealtime fairly common tradition in white society, but that big institutions have to be even

²⁰more rigid about time because of the large numbers of people involved. The child-care worker might then even try to find him a snack. However, if the relationship between John and his child-care worker has not been a friendly one, John could easily take offence at the latter's cool, rational approach, and assume that the child-care worker was "out to get him."

The use of social skills

Ron and Gordon have made use of a number of social skills in working with Dave and Charlie. These skills (which have been identified briefly in the margins) are some of the basic approaches commonly used by those who work with people. They sound simple but are effective.

A quandary that frequently presents itself to the student of human relations as he or she begins to acquire these skills is "Am I really helping this person to grow in his own way, or am I merely manipulating him to fit into my own ideas about how he should develop?"

There is no simple answer to this question. Any action on one person's part will have consequences—even doing nothing. As adults working with children, we cannot avoid responsibility for what we do. However, the development of social skills can be seen also as the development of self-awareness and awareness of others. As such, social skills simply help us to consider the possible consequences of our own actions and responses to others.

As child-care workers, there is no doubt that we each have our own ideas as to how we would like to see children develop. We would probably pursue these notions whether or not we possessed social skills. At the very least, the development of social awareness ought to help us be aware of our own ideas and values and our own biases. If we then recognize ourselves as being manipulative, the time has come to consider using our skills to look into and correct our own behaviour.

The use of record keeping

Child-care workers in the Indian Residence generally have large numbers of children to whom they try to give individual attention. Due to this con-

**“In punishment, pain follows an act
that someone else disapproves of, and
the someone else usually provides
the pain; with discipline, in contrast,
the pain is a natural and realistic
consequence of a person’s behaviour.**

**“Finally, and this is the keystone of Reality Therapy,
when a child makes a value judgment and a
commitment to change his behaviour, no excuse is
acceptable for not following through.”**

William Glasser, “Schools Without Failure”

**“If there is anything that we wish
to change in the child, we should first
examine it and see whether it is
not something that would better be
changed in ourselves.”**

Carl Jung, “The Integration of the Personality”

cern for the well-being of often twenty or more charges, certain small but significant incidents could be forgotten a day or so later. Some form of record keeping is essential.

With a large number of children requiring individual attention, a brief but regular form of record keeping can help to recall particular details about each child. There are various methods which can be used by child-care workers in the Indian Residences. Using a note book and allocating a page to each child, brief notes can be written daily. If after a few days, nothing has been written about a child, the worker then has a built-in reminder to pay more attention to him. This method has the advantage of helping the child-care worker to observe the children as individuals, and the disadvantage of not providing an overview of the total group situation.

Any child will have his troubles from time to time and, for some, this may necessitate the involvement of people other than his child-care worker. Discussion of the situation with colleagues in the Residence, educational counsellors, teachers, or referral to doctors, psychologists and psychiatrists all require that the child-care worker be able to provide some background information. This is necessary before a referral can be made and can also be helpful to the specialist after it has been made. In such a situation, however, written records made over a period of time giving precise details of behaviour, dates, and so forth, carry much more weight than vague recollections after a crisis has occurred. Good record keeping can also often help the worker to anticipate trouble and take measures to prevent it.

Recording the occasional conversation with a child can also be a help in improving one's ability to work with people. The worker who writes down *everything* he or she can recall after an important ex-

change with a child—verbal and non-verbal—and the record carefully examined to see whether it can aid in further *understanding*. It can also provide an opportunity to consider one's own *responses* to the child. Why did one respond like that? Did the response help? Is there any other way of responding that would have been more effective?

The questions have been raised as to how the children feel about "being recorded", and whether it is possible to keep confidentiality. The children are bound to know that their child-care worker keeps records. How they feel about it has much to do with why they think the records are being kept. However, they accept that teachers, doctors and others who work with people also make notes to help them in their work and that these records are really for their own benefit. How they view the child-care worker's notes will depend largely on how the worker explains the keeping of records to the children, and whether or not his general attitude to the children is open or manipulative. Perhaps the easiest way to dispel sinister suspicions is to show a child what one has written about him, and ask him if he agrees with it. This, incidentally, can lead to quite interesting discussions when both child and worker are interested in getting to know each other better. Confidentiality, likewise, need not be much of an issue if the children understand the reason for the keeping of records—in any case they will probably know more about what has been happening than has been recorded.

Other resources to meet individual needs

As well as the usual resources of child-care worker and specialists, any Residence and its neighbouring community abound with resources that can be used to meet the needs of the individual. There

1 "I think I'll draw that rabbit
I caught..."

2 "Wonder how I'll make out
in the parade tonight?"



2



may be other members of staff with whom the child can form a close personal attachment (the cook, the engineer); there may be adults in the local community who would be prepared to encourage a child in a particular activity which interests him (an artist, a mechanic).

The recent move among the Residences to increase the proportion of Indian staff ensures that there will be Indian adults in responsible positions on whom the children can model themselves. This plays a very important part in the development of a child's self-image, and the Indian child-care worker among a predominantly white staff may find himself important to more children than just those in his own dormitory.

There may be facilities that a child with special interests and abilities could be given permission to use (a chapel organ, a stove). A child thought to be withdrawn and listless can suddenly come to life during special activities that he enjoys but which are often not part of the recreation program. Observations of this sort can help the child-care worker arrange activities that will give the child an opportunity to develop self-confidence and purpose.

The use of "self" in personal relations

An engineer uses machines to help him in his work, a violinist uses an instrument to produce his music. As child-care workers, we have only our "selves" to help us in our work with youngsters. Just as the engineer's and musician's instruments must be as well-tuned as possible and used with care, so must we develop and take care of ourselves.

We use our "selves" both consciously and unconsciously when working with children. Simply by being adults in the presence of children we are being used by them as "role models". Just as a girl

21providing role models

22awareness of one's own
biases—especially important
in an intercultural situation

23empathy

24need for a strong inner self

25need to differentiate
between personal and
professional situations

learns how to be a mother by modelling herself on her own mother, children can learn from a child-care worker how to be a friendly or unfriendly adult, a mature man or woman, an authoritarian or growth-oriented disciplinarian. Throughout the course of a day we may each play several roles, ranging from substitute parent to friend to disciplinarian to bead-work expert. While most of this is done fairly automatically, our self-assurance and inner happiness—or otherwise—show through.

As soon as we enter into a relationship with a child, we are using our "selves". Earlier we discussed various skills we can use when working with people, and the need to develop an awareness of the feelings of others. It is equally important to develop an awareness of our own feelings, attitudes, values and biases. Most of us have some working philosophy of life, although it may take considerable effort to develop a conscious awareness of it and to perceive when it affects our own actions. Having such a philosophy can be a great support to one's-self—and can also blind one on occasion to the differing values of others. To become aware of one's own biases is not to say that one should not have biases. Everyone has them, but not everyone recognizes them for what they are—simply one's own approach to life and not necessarily the only one. Working with children it is especially important to remember this, since the philosophies of the children's absent parents must also be recognized and respected.

There is a personal ability which those who work with people usually hope to develop. This is the ability to "empathize" with another person. The simplest way to describe empathy might be to paraphrase an old Indian expression meaning "the ability to walk a mile in the other man's moccasins". It is similar to sympathy, but differs from it in a vital

way. When one sympathizes with another person, one feels with him, one takes his side. When one empathizes with another person, one attempts to feel how he feels and to understand him while not necessarily taking up the cudgels on his behalf. A child-care worker sympathizing with the child who has run away from Residence may actually feed the child's self-pity without being able to help him. A child-care worker "empathizing" with a child may be able to help him express his feelings and also to evaluate his own behaviour.

Perhaps an essential personal characteristic that one must have in order to be able to "empathize" is a strong inner self. The ability to feel without becoming over-involved depends upon the

worker not trying to meet his own personal emotional needs through the lives of those with whom he works. For example, a child-care worker with a strong need for love may over-identify with a child who has similar needs and who is having difficulty with her parents at home. From that point, it is easy for the child-care worker to sympathize with the child, bolstering her grievances and actually taking sides against the parents. The child-care worker with an ability to "empathize" is usually a warm, self-confident, mature person.

One way of preserving this inner strength is to be able to differentiate between one's own private life and one's professional life. For example, when Margaret swears at a child-care worker, is the latter able to tell whether Margaret is expressing her personal feelings toward her, or whether Margaret is angry with the authority she represents? If the child-care worker's personal life is centered around the institution, such an incident could be easily interpreted as a personal attack. Even though Margaret is still a child in many ways, she most likely does

"This is my favourite book."

26expanding one's "self"



not even consider the child-care worker to be a part of her private world—the latter is simply a symbol of what is preventing her from doing as she wants. If the child-care worker allows herself to be hurt by this incident and to react accordingly, she will simply reinforce the communication barrier between them. Once the child-care worker has allowed her own emotions to impair her perception and understanding, it would be easy for her to become manipulative without being aware of it.

The ability to differentiate between a person's personal and professional life has much to do with her concept of herself, and where she feels she belongs. If she communicates only with people within the Residence, she will tend to see herself only as a child-care worker who belongs at that particular Residence. If she has interests in the local ²⁶community as well, she will see herself not only as a child-care worker but also as a member of, say, the community drama club. She will identify not just with the Residence, but also with the local community. Her concept of herself will have been expanded. Similarly, if that person also travels frequently to a large city, communicates with friends there and keeps up certain interests, such as receiving a theatre magazine, belonging to a stamp collector's club based there, reading the city's newspapers and so forth, her sense of where she belongs will have grown again, and so will her concept of "self". This self-image is not static—she can spin herself upwards and outwards in an ever-widening circle, which may be hard to start with if she has allowed herself to become isolated, but will become easier and easier as she gathers momentum. Or, like a centripetal force, she can allow herself to spiral inwards and downwards to isolation and the tensions that accompany the feelings of being alone,

²⁷over-identification with the Residence; need for better communication

²⁸under-identification with the Residence; need for better communication

²⁹need for regular, informal communication

self-centered and unable to communicate with others

In some of the Residences, the child-care workers have been helped to make this differentiation by being allowed to live away from the Residence. This reduces the tension created by living and working with the same people. Where this is not possible, it is a little more difficult to separate one's work life from the personal life.

²⁷ There are ways of achieving this although they require more self-discipline on the part of the child-care workers themselves. However, Residence staff in isolated places often form their own warm, closely-knit communities and, together, they can usually rely on each other for support, even in facing such a problem as "too much togetherness"! A common difficulty for such a group is that, whenever they get together, they inevitably talk shop. One way to extricate themselves from this situation is for the group as a whole to make its own rules concerning when work may and may not be discussed. If regular discussion times are established, there is no necessity to discuss work whenever one meets a colleague. This may result in strange silences at first but, if it does, it is surely a sign that the people involved really need to develop a few more interests. Geographical isolation does make the development of new interests rather more complicated than it would be in a city; but books, newspapers, magazines, films (National Film Board films can be borrowed free of charge), records, art supplies, and the like, can all be shipped fairly easily. Many activities such as hunting, drama, music and sports can usually be done with simple, locally available equipment. There will be a bit of arranging to do at first, perhaps, but it is worth remembering that a happy, interested person with a full life of her own will have more to offer a child.

The reverse situation may have a tendency to develop where staff live out. While the child-care

²⁸workers then have the opportunity to develop a more normal life-style, insufficient communication between them in the Residence may mean that the child-care workers will not come to identify strongly enough with the Residence. This situation may be expressed through feelings of powerlessness, apathy, lack of initiative in trying new ideas. For staff in this situation, then, it is also important to establish together some definite channels and times for discussion of work. Through the process of getting together and discussing common interests and concerns, a sense of belonging and of being an important part of the Residence will emerge.

In instances where there is either too much, or too little identification with the Residence, the problem would seem to lie not so much with the quantity of communication, as with its quality. Repetition, gossip, and not much else to talk about can turn easily into complaint and negative attitudes.

There would seem to be two particularly useful ²⁹types of communication about work. The first of these is informal, perhaps at coffee break, when the subject matter would have to do with the events of that particular day; sharing news of children from the same family who might be in the care of different child-care workers, letting off steam about a trying incident, sharing plans for the day so that co-operation between staff will be forthcoming and so on.

The second is more formal. It entails the holding of regular work meetings among the child-care staff for the purpose of helping the workers to enhance their knowledge and understanding of child-care work. Typical subject matter for such meetings might include, the aims of child-care work, general areas of concern (e.g. drinking among the teenagers,

³⁰need for regular explanation
and discussion of child-care
work

the activities program), how to communicate better
³⁰with the parents, how to help a withdrawn child, evaluation of the relations between the local community and the Residence, and so forth. These meetings would not be the appropriate setting for discussion of personnel problems, inter-personal grievances or routine administrative details. Such matters are certainly important and there are, or ought to be, other procedures already established for handling them. One aim of these meetings would be to provide an opportunity for the child-care worker to stand back momentarily from his work, in order to see it in a broader perspective than is usually possible when he is closely involved. They also provide opportunities for workers to receive support from each other in difficult situations. When people are being open with each other, it is most unusual for some of them not to have experienced difficulties similar to those of a fellow worker who is currently in a quandary.

These types of communication can help to develop a professional sense of self. Through them, ideas, knowledge and experience can be contributed and, by this process, mutual support can be given to the workers to explore, create, and keep trying. Other ways of helping oneself to grow in this area are offered by periodicals (such as those on child-care work, Indian news), reports (on education, recreation), and films (on Indian communities in Canada, working with young people, children's activities). Having a library of such materials in a child-care staff common room can be both stimulating and helpful.

**Go directly—
see what
she's doing,
and tell her
she mustn't.**

"Punch", 1872

Providing opportunities for a child to be an individual

In addition to using a personal relationship to treat a child as an individual, opportunities can also be provided through the regular daily activities for a child to develop a sense of individuality. While there is often not much choice as to whether or not these activities will take place, there is some room within each activity for choice as to how it will be done.

As the child learns to make choices and decisions he develops an awareness of his own individual tastes and a feeling of having some control over his own life. This is an important part of his growth toward being an adult, since, without this feeling of control and willpower, there can be no sense of responsibility.

How much choice can be given will, of course, vary according to the child's age. A sixteen year-old can be asked "What would you like for your evening snack?" and be relied upon to give a reasonable reply. The same question to a six-year old might bring forth a demand for french-fries and chocolate ice-cream, neither of which is usually available at a Residence just at bed-time, and which must then be rejected completely. For the six-year old to learn that it is worthwhile making decisions for himself, the question might be better phrased "Would you like an apple or a biscuit for your evening snack?" The amount of choice in other areas of Residence life will similarly be varied by such other factors as physical limitations, safety, the numbers of children and staff involved, and so forth.

In a situation where no choice is possible, the child can be asked his opinion of the situation. Then, at least, he has had to decide what he thinks and to express that opinion. By examining the situa-

tion with him and explaining the reason for there being no choice on this occasion, the child is learning that the world of adults is not altogether arbitrary and irrational.

Admission to Residence

Any adult person entering a big institution for the first time—a hospital, a school, etc., is usually a little overawed and unsure of what is expected of him. Imagine the feelings of a child, whose home is now a full day's travel away, suddenly thrust into a milling throng of people (some of whom speak strange languages) and expected to master unusual routines without prior knowledge of the customs.

In such circumstances anyone feels thankful for a personal word of welcome and some explanation of why it is in his best interest to have been brought here. This initial experience is actually a vital stage in the process of being introduced to the Residence. This and what follows will either restore and continue the new boy's feeling that he is a unique individual, or will start him on his way to becoming regimented and institutionalized.

In the dormitory

A child's bed may be the only place in the Residence that is really his if he wishes to be alone: one should check occasionally to ensure that this privacy is respected by staff and students, and that he is not obliged to stay with the rest of his dormitory group during leisure periods. Are there any other opportunities in the Residence for a child to seek solitude? The overall climate of the Residence may have much effect on this; if the staff have not shown that they respect the needs of individuals for privacy it is quite likely that the children will not have learned to respect each other's needs.

A child will take pride in caring for his own "territory" even if it consists only of a bed and a bedside table. It only becomes his own, however, if he can arrange it to his own taste. His treasures (usually in the form of odd pebbles, a slingshot, a comic book) by his bedside, his own choice of patterned bedspread and some of his favourite pictures on the wall nearby are all extensions of his personality. They all reflect that he is an individual with tastes and interests of his own. They all make his "place" a bit more of a sanctuary of privacy.

Clothing

Does the child have an opportunity to decide what he will wear? Choice of clothing is one of the most important ways in which he can express his feelings of being a unique personality. Is this important decision made by the child shopping for his own clothes at the beginning of the year and by the child deciding each day what clothes would be appropriate and wearable? Or is it made initially by an unknown person for all of the boys of that size and then determined on a daily basis by the laundry schedule?

The first-mentioned method certainly requires more work on the part of the staff, but meets the needs of children who are learning responsibility. The second-mentioned meets the needs of the staff, but does little for the children other than seeing that they are clothed.

Where the children have been allowed to select their own clothing, they have usually enjoyed the experience and met expectations of responsibility. The child-care staff who have gone with them have been most enthusiastic about the experience.

One's physical person is a medium through which one expresses personality and individuality.

For this boy it is his defiantly long hair; for this girl, it is a cosmetic she uses to hide a scar. Among many young Indian people, too, long hair may be a proud tradition rather than just a current fad.

Chores

There is no doubt that chores have to be performed throughout our lives. Our questions should again focus on how they are organized. Are chores assigned arbitrarily, or is there a choice as to who shall undertake them? Do the chores involve clearing up the child's own living areas, or do they also include staff areas and public areas that he has little to do with? Some chores can be made more agreeable when they are tackled by a group rather than an individual.

Pocket money

In Canadian society generally, it seems to be accepted that it is almost as important to teach a child how to handle money wisely as it is to provide him with the physical necessities of life. For this reason, it is important that each child receive some small, regular sum so that he can learn how to use it. For children in Residence, this would seem to be especially important since some children receive money from home, while others do not. This situation could result in considerable inequality among the children were it not for the provision to all children of a small, regular amount with no strings attached.

Among Canadians, there are some differing opinions concerning pocket money that are based on our differing cultural backgrounds. Some have questioned whether children should receive money for nothing, feeling that, like adults, they should have to work for it. Others have recognized that, in

our society, giving money is in some way a symbol of giving love and care, in the same way as when one feeds and clothes a child. When we give a child a minimum amount of pocket money with no conditions attached, we are assuring him that we care about his well-being. To give only on certain conditions, such as in return for work, is then telling him that we only care about him when he works and is good.

A child will learn something about money if he has opportunities to shop. Similarly, he will learn some of the more sophisticated ways of handling money if he is encouraged to use regular banking facilities. Another way for children to learn about the management of money is by helping them to operate their own canteen.

Meals

Mealtimes are usually among the most enjoyable events in a family's daily life. Ritual combines with informality to create a situation in which, at its best, each person present is refreshed physically and spiritually. There are a number of difficulties in the way of a Residence being able to create quite the same atmosphere. Some of the better results seem to have been effected by the use of small tables, for four or six children, which permit groups sufficiently small for each child's presence to be felt.

A little more scope for individual differences is also possible where the children can serve part of the meal for themselves. This also has the advantage that there is then no need for them to line up in a very orderly manner before meals. Perhaps the best opportunity for this type of individualism to be encouraged is on, say, a Saturday morning, when there is no real urgency as to time, and kitchen staff are not needed to serve the breakfast foods,

such as cold cereal, toast, fruit, milk and coffee. Children who have never had to prepare a simple meal for themselves like this can be quite a problem for their parents when they do return home at the end of the year, since they have become dependent upon others deciding and doing things for them.

Leisure

Adults sometimes assume a child's play to be superficial amusement or, at best, a way to keep him busy and hence out of mischief. In terms of a child's psychological and social development, however, his play is probably his most important task, and he usually works hard at it. Much of the play activity discussed here is oriented toward an individual child or a small group. There are other types of play which will be discussed later.

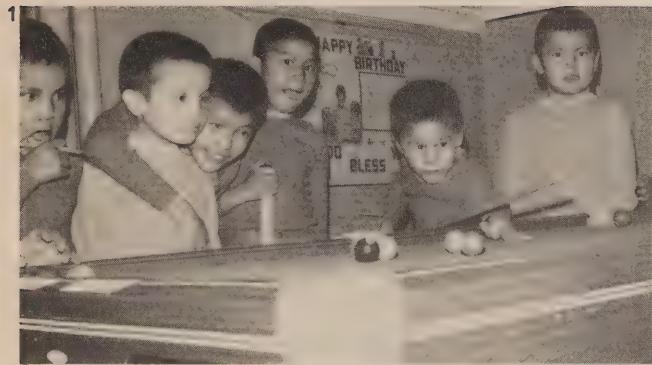
Self-confidence grows as the child masters physical skills, such as skipping, dancing, acting, tobogganning. Here is his opportunity for recognition and praise of his individual talents.

Children with apparently little talent or patience can gain confidence if you find them toys and materials that give an immediate response and satisfaction: such as, a kaleidoscope, a record, a pogo stick. Patience and the ability to concentrate can be strengthened as the child-care worker eventually discovers a slightly more complex activity that can also "turn him on" and that he will want to engage in with more determination: for example, making a collage is more complicated than looking at the patterns already formed in a kaleidoscope. It is easier, however, for a child to cut and paste than to design and draw a picture himself. Similarly, tie-and-dye may be more satisfying and less time-consuming than composing and painting a design on paper.

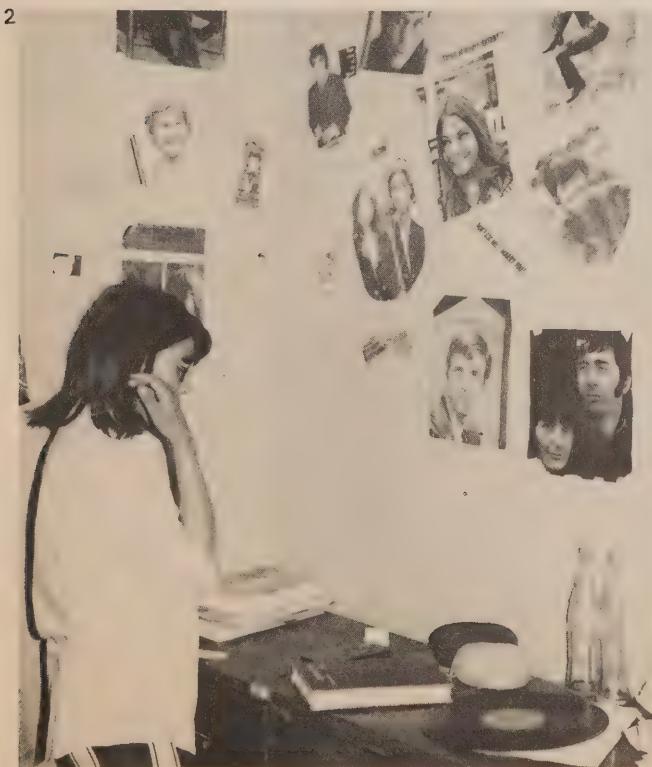
A relationship with a shy child may also be

1 "This looks like my big chance..."

2 A time to be alone.



2



strengthened by sharing a particular interest with him, such as making plaster-of-paris molds together or looking after the child-care worker's indoor plants.

For the child with plenty of ability and confidence, there is no end to the individual initiative he can apply to materials on hand. He can make things, prepare a Residence newspaper, think up new games, show tricks to others. With encouragement, even the most mundane materials can be turned into works of art.

This initiative and talent can be further encouraged by displaying the child's work. Some Residences have by using these, managed both to decorate their interiors gaily and to create a warm, child-centred atmosphere. Examples include finger-paint decorations and pin-up pictures in bedrooms, posters and papier-maché Indian masks in dormitories, murals of Indian motifs and animals in dining halls, displays of beadwork and painting in hallways—all done by the children.

A child will experience times of anger, sadness, anxiety. He can release some of these feelings through the use of various play materials. Finger paint, modelling clay, and percussion instruments allow for a great deal of expression.

Social life

On coming to Residence, a child must leave behind him a varying number of warm relationships. In each of them he played a role—sometimes the grand-child, sometimes the child, the older brother, the friend, or the trapper's assistant. When he comes to Residence he is in danger of being deprived of these roles, even though he may take on some new ones. Since he must return eventually to his home community, are there ways to help him retain these parts of his personality? It is so easy in an institution

to assume that this is really the child's home . . . but he never forgets. Liaison with the home life is not always kept intact, however, and some children do find it difficult to pick up relationships at home where they left off. This can occasionally result in individual confusion and alienation, which certainly lessens the benefits of coming to Residence.

The amount and type of liaison between children in Residence and their homes varies according to where the Residence is. In some, where parents are within visiting distance, comfortable sitting rooms have been furnished for quiet visiting between parents and child; in others overnight accommodation is available for parents visiting from out of town. At one Residence, where visiting by parents is not possible, the parents have been delighted with a novel experiment in communication: a videotape was made of their children in various activities at the Residence and sent to them to view. Similarly, video-tapes from home could do much to strengthen children's ties with their home communities. Other methods to encourage communication with home include newsletters, personal letters and tape recordings. Of course, nothing can replace an opportunity for a child to go home himself when holidays during the year permit.

The establishment of parents' committees to act as advisory bodies to the Residences will also strengthen ties within individual families, helping each child to maintain an integrated, rather than a divided, self.

While in Residence, the child also has an opportunity to develop new friendships and roles. He may become a fine hockey player, a leader and a friend to children from a number of far-flung Indian communities whom he would otherwise never have met. He may also make friends with white and

Indian children from the local community. This may require a certain amount of support from the child-care worker though, since visiting with local children may necessitate bending the Residence routine occasionally, so that this child (and others) can stay downtown after school, or stay with his friend for a night. It would also help if the child-care worker were to take an interest in the local friend, encouraging him to visit the Residence, too. These local friendships may be questioned by the other children in the dormitory group, in which case, the child-care worker could find himself in the role of mediator.

Chapter IV

The Group Situation in the Residence

Just as we are all individuals, so are we all members of groups—a family, a work unit, a class at school, a formal social group such as Girl Guides, an informal group such as friends drinking morning coffee, a hobby group, and so on.

Using the group to facilitate group living and for the benefit of individuals

Our behaviour in a group tells as much about us as our behaviour when alone, and by observing a person in a group, much can be learned about him as an individual. How well does he relate to the others? Is he able to make friends with most of them? Does he try to bully them? Is he unable to make friends and, thus, ignored by the others? His feelings about himself and, therefore, the person he becomes, will be much influenced by these relationships.

We learn through experience. In a one-to-one relationship with an adult child-care worker, a child experiences warmth, understanding and a certain amount of security made possible by the adult's tolerance and restraint. In a group of peers, however, especially of young children, there are few holds barred. The children's behaviour among themselves is spontaneous and honest, likely to be aggressive and derisive as much as gentle and loving. This is the experience of life that any child must have in order to learn how to live with others. The protection and support of an adult will be absolutely essential from time to time, since this learning experience is a tough one. Nonetheless, there can be no substitute for group experience if the child is to learn how to get along with others. For example, only in a group is it possible for a child to discover that he can show another child how to do something—a wonderfully warm experience in growing.

Certain other learning experiences are also only possible in group situations: a particularly important one for children is co-operation. They have plenty of opportunities to compete, both as individuals and in groups. Such competition has its place if the individual aim is to excel or if the group objective (a hockey team, for example) is to win. However, such competitiveness can work to reduce fun and friendship. Learning how to work together for the benefit of the whole group can be a much warmer human experience. A Residence hockey team composed entirely of Indian students might be matched against a local team of white students. The short-term effect might be to create a strong self-image for the Indians, but it may have the long-term effect of alienating them from the local white students and rendering difficult any individual friendship. A more sociable human experience might be provided by encouraging the Indian and white students to play on the same teams against students from other schools or districts. In this way individual talent, be it of an Indian or a white student, can still be recognized, while the group process will serve a more useful social purpose.

A group situation also provides an opportunity for a child (or an adult) to identify with others in the group and with the group itself. For example, a boy in a basketball team may see himself as more than a basketball player: he may also identify with the coach if he sees him as the sort of person he would like to become. He may identify with another individual in the team—a leader whose mannerisms he will try to copy, or a poor player who he sees as being rather like himself. Sometimes children's individual needs can be met in a group situation where a one-to-one relationship with an adult is too demanding. In the dormitory several girls who have

"O.K., you guys. Ready?"



been having difficulty at home may find comfort in a group discussion about family life in which each learns that she is not alone. While the child-care worker can encourage the girls to share their problem in this way, and can take an individual interest in each member of the group, some of the girls' needs for affection, understanding and support may be met by each other through the group situation. If this group had not formed, it might have been difficult for the child-care worker to have helped each of these unhappy, worried girls on an individual basis.

What is a group?

Not every collection of human beings is a group. People on a city street are more likely to be a number of individuals, each going about his business—business which is likely to be quite varied. A number of people all doing the same work is not necessarily a group either—the behaviour of people watching a movie or school children writing a test might be seen as parallel action but not as interaction.

Only when people start to interact with each other can a group be said to exist. An example might be a number of people travelling on a bus from a city to an isolated northern town. Each looked ahead avoiding the eyes of the other passengers, perhaps thinking about his home or his work. Then, at a small town along the way, the driver announced that he was having engine trouble and would have to delay there overnight. Everyone was immediately a little concerned. Where would they stay? Would it be expensive? Would the bus company reimburse them? What about people coming from out-of-town to meet them? What about one person's job if he was not there on time? People turned to each other, expressing frustration and sharing anxiety. Before

long people were trying to help each other, discovering that they had interests in common and reacting to or ignoring others who did not fit in. They had become a group.

This was a naturally formed group. The group disintegrated as the journey drew to an end, although most of them retained vivid memories of the experience, which had been both warm and stimulating.

Not all groups form naturally. In a Residence, among a dormitory of girls, some natural friendship groups may form while there will also be some arranged groups, such as a group of Girl Guides. While these groups will differ in their functions, they share some group characteristics: there is interaction between the members, they share common goals or concerns and each feels that she belongs in the group.

Only rarely, of course, will all members of a group feel and think unanimously about their goals and their sense of belonging. Even the strongest group—such as a happy family—will have its moments of division or dependency upon a leader among them. In any group there can be sub-groups—which may vary from time to time. In a family, for example, parents and children might be seen as two sub-groups. Among children in a dormitory, sub-groups of two, three, four, or five children might form, according to age groupings, the communities they came from, whether they go to the same school together, whether they share particular interests or problems.

This is particularly necessary in a large dormitory group of twenty or more, since personal satisfaction from belonging to a group can only be found when the group is small enough for each member to be seen by himself and the group as an

¹C.C.W. responds to feelings,
not words expressed

²C.C.W. responds as one adult
to another, thus protecting
newly-found self-confidence

individual. In an adult group, eight to ten members will allow each person an opportunity to feel that he is important to the group—even a few more may be accommodated if everyone is prepared to co-operate. If there are too many people, however, some will "tune out", feeling that their presence or absence will not be noticed. A child is usually not able to relate to as many people as an adult can. Children's groups, therefore, need to be considerably smaller. Within their large dormitory groups, then, the children will form smaller sub-groups.

Among these sub-groups, a pattern of leadership will also invariably develop, one sub-group being stronger than the others. Occasionally an individual might stand out in this position, a situation that can be used in a positive way to the benefit of the larger group. Sometimes, however, it is used only for the benefit of the leader or sub-group—in which case, they are usually given the names of "bully" and "clique". Sub-groups are thus very influential in a group. Where their interests are complementary to each other, they can greatly enhance the overall functioning of the group. Where their interests and goals conflict, they can be a divisive force that may eventually bring about the disintegration of the group of which they are part. (One example of a group which might be looked at in these terms is a staff meeting.)

Another person who must be seen as part of the group, even though at first glance he does not seem to belong to it, is the isolated child. He is the child, who, although not included by the others, continues to play near them alone, or who tries constantly to interfere offensively with their games. If he were living at home with his family, at least he would have a completely different group to relate to after school. In Residence, however, his position

may be particularly uncomfortable since he not only attends school with these children, but must live with them too. Whether he is neglected or rejected by the other children, he must still be considered part of the group since he is very much affected by them, and they, to some extent, by him.

Observing the group

With a group of children, the child-care worker will be using the same heightened awareness she uses when she is with an individual child. If anything, her awareness will have to be sharper than before, since not only are there several individuals present, but there may be a number of personal interactions going on simultaneously that are worth noting. As well as listening to what is said and how it is said, she will be interested in to whom it is said and by whom.

The senior girls were playing charades. They had played together several times before and spirits were high. Annette, new to Residence at the beginning of the year, had been a loner for the first few weeks. When the other girls had played charades previously, she had sat back a little from the group and watched, declining to join in. Lately, she had been gaining a little self-confidence and this evening, when asked to join in, had rather hesitantly accepted. Now, however, as her turn approached, she began saying to no one in particular "This is a silly game. I don't know how to play it. It's stupid..." The child-care worker recognized Annette's anxiety and apprehension at having to do something in front of others. She knew how important it was that Annette should enjoy her experience in the group if she were to continue to participate. Moving quietly over to stand next to Annette, she smiled and said "Yes, it is silly—I used to get quite nervous

3children's concern can be voiced obliquely

when I first played it, until I realized that the others were laughing with me, and not at me." Annette relaxed—someone had understood how she felt. She mimed her part well, which added both to her confidence and to her acceptance by the group.

Joan, a newly-wed, worked with the intermediate girls. The children had met her husband one afternoon, and liked him. After he had left they clustered around Joan, asking when she was going to have a baby. She was a little flustered at first at the girls' interest in her private life—especially when she discovered that her ideas on family planning

³seemed a strange concept to them. However, she soon realized that the girls were not so much concerned with her as with having babies, love, sex and family life in general. Having perceived this, she was able to move the focus of conversation from herself, while continuing the interesting discussion. She could easily have missed this opportunity had she not perceived the girls' concern with their own developing sexual awareness.

A child's behaviour in a group can tell us as much as his words can. The behaviour of Charlie (see previous chapter) was irritating at times, so far as the rest of the group was concerned but was usually ignored by the boys. It was this behaviour, however, that alerted the child-care worker to the extent of his troubles. He noticed that Charlie was the last of the group to leave the dormitory, thus being left alone with the worker; that he was usually just too late to join the group for a game, and would thus be left out; that he was always left behind by the group, last and alone after any of their activities.

Participation in a planning meeting with senior boys and girls is an intensive experience in which to learn about human relations. Young chairmen can be helped to direct productive meetings that

4a group has a life of its own

will sustain the interest of the others by being shown how to detect the first signs of boredom, impatience, anger or enthusiasm in the group. Noticing the student who "turns off" and starts doodling, noticing at what point another starts chewing his fingernails, or giggling and conducting a counter-conversation with a couple of others. What was it that turned them off? or made them angry? By developing awareness of these non-verbal cues in a group, the child-care worker can adjust his own actions or even interpret them to the student leaders as a way of helping them work better with the others.

Annette, described above, always knew she could mime and dance—she had loved to join in the traditional Indian dances in her home community. When she first came to Residence, however, she was too shy to tell anyone this. The evening's activity which allowed non-verbal expression countenanced by the game situation provided an outlet for her. Once the child-care worker had noticed this, she was able to arrange other opportunities in which Annette could participate fully.

As well as observing the behaviour of individuals in these group situations, an overall group climate can be observed that is more than just the sum of each individual's mood and actions. Perhaps ⁴the most extreme example of this would be an excited mob in which individuals are affected by the situation to behave in a way that they would not normally even contemplate—such as a lynching mob. In everyday life most examples we encounter are far less extreme. A more typical example among adults might be a weekly meeting, or a class situation. With the same group of people present regularly, the experience can be one of exhilaration and enthusiasm on one occasion, frustration and indifference on another. The change in the mood of the

1 Canada's oldest game?
2 We should have a really good
team this year..."



2



5 individuals affect groups
6 groups affect individuals

individuals attending each day may only be slight, but in the group, people have a powerful effect on each other. The mood of the group can soar or tumble accordingly.

Similarly, the overall tone of the group will change as members are added or lost. When a strong, bullying person leaves the group, the group climate may become more co-operative and outgoing. When a strong leader leaves, the group may become sharply divided into a number of sub-groups. A pessimistic person entering the group may affect its morale—or, of course, be affected positively by the group, depending upon who is the stronger. A strange, timid person joining the group may be the signal for the members to reveal their hostility by venting their feelings on the newly arrived scapegoat.

Just as a group is affected by the individuals who are part of it, individual members are also affected by the group. Each member will continually find himself torn between being himself (the individual he knows he is) and giving up some of that individuality in order to become a part of the group. Each time he becomes a part of the group he will be affected by it—he may have learned to co-operate, he may have lost some of his feeling of uniqueness, he may have gained some insight into himself, he may have lost or gained a little self-confidence. Since being a member of a group is an experience of life, he will have learned something for better or worse, and can never go back to being quite the same person he was before that experience.

This continual change will, of course, be affecting each of the other members, too; and so in the normal life of any group, there will always be a constant interplay of tensions or "dynamics". The group and its members will constantly have to make

an effort to keep the group climate harmonious. Many people have experienced this, particularly in marriage and family life, where they discover that they can never take each other for granted, but must always work to keep the marriage sweet. In groups where the members feel they have less at stake, they may not bother to try. The process of continually adapting oneself gives way to the process of conflict, whereby each member becomes reluctant to make the effort to change or to care about the feelings of another member.

The existence of change will be found in all groups. What makes the difference between a "healthy" and a "sick" group is not the amount of change so much as how the change is handled by the group. Probably the least satisfactory way of resolving a conflict within the group occurs when an individual member or a sub-group is forced to leave—either of their own accord or as a result of rejection by the rest of the group. An only slightly better alternative would be for the stronger members of the group to allow the sub-group to stay, but to disregard their feelings and opinions completely, and to force them to do their bidding. While these may sound more like the tactics of totalitarian political groups, they can also be observed on a children's playground that is under the domination of a gang of bullies.

Majority rule is the next step—a little fairer than the rule of a bully so far as most of the group is concerned but still hard on the minority. The biggest drawback to the idea of majority rule, even when put to the vote, is that it usually implies an "either/or" answer—the group is inevitably polarized into a "for" and "against" situation. This is all right for the majority, but makes it difficult, once their position is known, for the minority to get back

into the group on an equal footing with the others. In such a situation, there must be losers as well as winners.

While these are the typical ways in which many adult political groups resolve their conflicts, there is another way that can be tried with a group of children or adults who are more concerned about people's feelings and with the creation of a happy atmosphere in which they can live and grow. It is more difficult, however, since it requires that the individuals concerned really try to understand each other's viewpoint. Then, if it seems that none of the positions originally taken will satisfy the whole group, each person may have to be prepared to bend a little. They may compromise, or, even better, the group may eventually come up with a solution that is different from any of those first suggested. This latter result is known as a "consensus". It is certainly not rare among loving families, but is a little more difficult to achieve in groups where the bond between members is not strong. Much depends on the members placing the survival of the whole group above their own individual interests.

Change and conflict, as described above, are necessary ingredients for learning and growing. In instances where attempts are made to perpetuate the *status quo* artificially and where conflicts are not recognized, the inner tension can do more to hurt people than an openly expressed hostility might have done. Knowing how to deal with conflict is not something that people are born with, however; it takes time and experience to learn, and is a part of growing up. Children who are encouraged to resolve their own conflicts are thus more likely to grow to be mature adults than children whose every conflict is resolved by an adult intervening and making the decision for them. Indeed, learning to

- 1 The boys are really proud of these canoes—their parents donated them to the Residence.
2 "Oh, boy! Saturday morning again..."



resolve conflict among a group of people is an extension of the individual decision-making discussed in the previous chapter.

One important area of decision-making that can affect the amount of conflict in a group has to do with deciding on the objectives of the group. "Why did this group form?" is a question worth reviewing from time to time. The group might have been brought together to perform a task, such as decorating a playroom, or it may have been brought together for the purpose of learning how to co-operate with each other. These two goals could be complementary, but there could be rather different results depending upon which goal was emphasized. For example, if the decorating were the most important goal, the room could be decorated with great precision and neatness at the cost of some children's taste being overruled. If the goal were to learn to co-operate, the room might not look so elegant to an adult eye, but the children might have enjoyed the experience more. It can thus be seen as necessary for the group as a whole, including the child-care worker, to have at the outset a common understanding of the group's aim.

There may be occasions when the goals of a group of children do not coincide with or complement the goals of the child-care worker supervising them. For example, a small group of boys in an intermediate dormitory had taken to frequently playing truant. They had smuggled beer into the Residence on a couple of occasions, becoming a little drunk and rather unruly. From time to time they had also indulged in vandalism in the Residence. The child-care worker was most concerned, since their behaviour was beginning to affect the rest of the dormitory group—morale was low as some tried to emulate them and others lost interest in the larger

group activities. He made a special effort to work with the troublemakers as a group, but had little influence over them. Part of the reason for this appears to have been that he was afraid to be open with them about his objectives in working with them as a group. Although he spent time playing with them, trying to win their confidence, they seemed to have been aware that his objectives were not the same as their own. Their aims were to show the child-care worker and the rest of the Residence that they could not make them do anything they did not want to do. The worker's aim, on the other hand, was to get the boys to fit in with the Residence routine. He might have had more success had he at least been honest with them about his concern for the dormitory in general.

Understanding, assessing the needs of the group

The same question "What is the matter?" that was asked of an individual's behaviour can be asked about a group. The main difference is that, instead of one, there are several individuals present and, as well as the individuals, there is the overall product of their interaction with each other—the group climate. This climate, in turn, influences each member. Since it would be both inappropriate and impossible in a group situation for the child-care worker to respond to each member's needs individually, the task of the worker at this point is to assess whether the group is meeting the needs of the individuals. If it is not, he must determine how best to intervene to alter the group climate. For example, if one child is doing all the talking in a discussion group and the others are not feeling a part of it, he might set a group objective to get everyone participating. He might also set an indi-

vidual objective for the talkative child: to learn to use his self-confidence to encourage the others to join in.

Even though objectives may have been established for a group, it is not uncommon for them to be displaced by other goals. A common enough story in white society is that of a family group whose goal of mutual support has been displaced by a desire for more material things. In terms of their original goal, they have failed, but in terms of their more recent goal, they may be quite successful. However, they will still be amazed at the tension and unhappiness in their family if they have not yet realized that their group's selection or changing of priorities is their own responsibility. On a larger scale, some old-fashioned institutions have been notorious for displacing their goal of the patients' welfare by that of efficiency for the staff. Similarly, a students' council may fall into dispute if the group's goal of student participation in planning becomes displaced by the goal of a small clique to "run the Residence".

Working with groups of children, this type of goal displacement can only be avoided by periodic evaluations with the children of their group's activities and goals. Evaluation is also a regular tool for workers in modern institutions, since displacement of goals is an easy trap to fall into. The basic question to be asked is "Why? ... Why does the group do this? Is it a good reason? Or is it from habit, for the convenience of a few? Are there other ways? Which would be the best way to meet the group's current needs? Are the current objectives still satisfactory? ..." Objectives change, of course, as the group changes, but they should still be for the good of the group as a whole and the group members ought to be aware of the changes. For

⁷C.C.W. shows interest by his presence, though he insists the students call the meeting

example, the goal of child-care institutions decades ago used to be simply to provide physical care and shelter. With the increasing affluence of Canadian society generally and the increase in knowledge about the needs of children, the goals have changed to include psychological and social care. The Residence goals could be said to have changed again beyond this, with the increased recognition of the need for an educational system that takes account of the children's Indian cultural background.

In a group situation, the child-care worker may not be the only one to gain an understanding of the dynamics of the group and of the individuals that constitute it. Quite frequently a member of a group will learn something about himself as a result of other people's comments or actions. There is, however, no necessity for him to admit this to the group. Pressure to do so may be appropriate in certain experimental groups of adults who have come together for the express purpose of exploring, for example, their racial prejudices. In such groups, however, this is understood by the members when they join. Pressure to express one's innermost thoughts and feelings is not appropriate or necessary in groups that have come together simply to perform a task, or to live together. People living in any institution need to protect their privacy.

In the same way, not every insight of the child-care worker into the functioning of the group needs to be shared with the group. Much of the time, it is sufficient that the child-care worker understand what is going on. As far as the children are concerned, they are learning from the group experience itself. It is only occasionally, when the group has, for example, been having difficulty resolving a conflict, that it can be useful to interpret to the group what they have just done. For example, it

would have added to the strain for Annette, rather than decreased it, had the child-care worker interpreted to her and to the group that her words indicated nervousness.

Interacting with the group

As an adult working with a group of young people or children, the child-care worker's role is not that of leader. It is rather a role that will change from time to time, especially as the group becomes more mature in its ability to function by itself. In this role, the child-care worker must be able to relate to the members as individuals and also to intervene, when necessary, in the interaction between members.

A number of senior boys and girls had approached their respective child-care workers over the past week or so with the request that they be allowed to hold a dance at mid-term. The student council at this Residence had not functioned for a couple of years and, during that time, the dances that were to be arranged by the students had usually fallen rather flat. Judith, the girls' child-care worker had given permission for them to go ahead and try again, but was fairly certain that they would be no more successful. The boys' child-care worker David, had, however, been encouraging the boys in his dormitory to co-operate with each other in living together, making decisions as a group if everyone was likely to be affected. He agreed that the students should have a dance, and suggested that the boys try to work with the girls to plan the event, in the same way that they usually included everyone concerned. The girls agreed, even though they had little experience of group meetings. David attended the first meeting. Most of the boys came, but only six girls, who felt so overwhelmed that they left

⁸C.C.W. offers support by assuming that the students can plan given more comfortable circumstances. He suggests circumstances understood to enhance group climate.

⁹C.C.W. perceives group division, feeling of shyness, need for interaction and group cohesion. Use of physical environment.

¹⁰Two girls perceived in danger of becoming isolated and ignored by the group. Individuals brought into the group. C.C.W. at the one time, accepts the two girls' feelings, supports them as they try to enter the discussion,

demands that they take part and limits the interaction of the others to allow the two to join in. He is at once firm about the reason for his intervention and encouraging as he helps the group move to a more mature stage.

even before the meeting was under way. The planning could have ended there.

⁸ David suggested to the boys and to Judith that it might help if each dormitory were to elect no more than four representatives, who could then meet in a quieter situation and on equal terms. Since the students were still keen, this was done fairly easily and the planning group met again the next evening after supper.

⁹ When David came in, he saw the girls were sitting squeezed together on a sofa on one side of the library while the boys sat on a table talking loudly about hockey. He decided that, for the present, he should intervene to help them get started. He suggested that they use the table, since they might want to make notes. The tables being rectangular, he seated himself on one of the long sides, so as to be less the focal point he would have been at the end of the table. Although the use of the table is a formal arrangement, he perceived that the youngsters were all shy, and that the girls in particular needed something to "hide" behind and an excuse to do something.

¹⁰ The boys and two of the girls were soon in discussion but David noticed that the other two girls, Suzanne and Lillian were being left out. He spoke quietly to each one in turn, saying how nice it was to have the girls and boys working together, that the girls had a lot to contribute, and asking what part of the planning they were most interested in. In doing this, David broke the ice for the two girls; he also gave them confidence in their ability to relate to the other people present by first helping each of them to form an individual relationship with him in which she felt herself accepted and supported; he also acted as a guide to the others by making an effort to include the shyer members of the group—

in so doing, he was aware that in group meetings with the boys he had become a role model for some of them.

At the beginning of the meeting David made a few suggestions as to topics that the group could ¹¹include in their planning and intervened occasionally in the discussion to ask questions or to invite the ¹²quieter ones to add their comments. However, the group was soon able to add many more ideas and proceed with less and less intervention from him. Nonetheless, he decided that for the next two or three meetings at least, he would retain his unoffical position as chairman—he recognized that the boys, with their previous experience, could easily take control of the meetings and, without meaning to, deprive the girls of this opportunity to take part in decision-making.

Danny, in particular, was very competent and confident with words. However, he was self-centred, too, with a tendency to do all of the talking and deciding himself. Anxious for others to participate more in the discussion, David occasionally pointed out to Danny that he was doing all the "work" and that "we" would like to hear from the others, too. In so phrasing his words, David was being more tactful than merely saying "You are talking too much, and we want to speak."

¹⁴ When it came time for posters to be made, Suzanne was surprised and pleased to discover that she was more adept with her hands than any of the others. In her new-found role of "expert", she sparkled as she showed the others how to make up the colourful posters she had designed. Even Danny showed respect!

¹⁵ Later he hoped this group might provide the nucleus of a student council, and that there would be further opportunities for the group to learn to

11 stimulation
12 animation

13 Protecting weaker members from domination by stronger members. Building confidence among weaker members. C.C.W. uses tact, but words are clear enough that others are encouraged to join in again

14 non-verbal activity helps strengthen shy member's position in the group

15 C.C.W. recognizes need for children to succeed in simple ventures before attempting more complex tasks

16 as need for C.C.W.'s intervention decreases, C.C.W. allows group to stand on its own feet

work together. He was also very conscious of the necessity for the group's efforts to be successful if anything further were to come of the idea of a student council. If the dance were not a success, the youngsters were likely to be discouraged from further efforts. From this point of view, the task of planning the dance was his short-term objective.

16 *After the dance, the group did manage to keep working together until the end of year. David continued to attend the meetings, although his role gradually changed from "chairman" to "advisor" to "resource person". In the latter role he suggested to the group that, since they were now working together as a mature group, he should attend only at their invitation. They agreed to this although, as a matter of courtesy, they invited him to join them fairly frequently. In this role, however, he refrained from intervening, making suggestions only when invited.*

David used a number of skills in working with this group. Had he returned to the same Residence the following year, he would undoubtedly have had to repeat the whole process with a new or changed group. Traditions of student self-government can be passed down from one year to the next, but it takes time for such traditions to become firmly enough established that at the very least, an advisor is not needed.

Non-verbal communication in a group

Shared experiences do not necessarily require words. A hunting party, for example, may require intense co-operation from the group. Its members may experience fear, elation and satisfaction, all with very few words. A group of children making Christmas cards for their parents may share the fun of cutting and pasting, the pleasure of playing with

glitter and tinsel, learning what each other is doing—all with few words and much concentration. Children dancing traditional Indian dances, miming Indian legends behind masks are all communicating and sharing in a group experience.

All people can enjoy these experiences, but they are also particularly suited to children who are still mastering language, or to adults whose traditions do not include being talkative—the watchful women of the Shetland Isles who enjoy weaving together, the taciturn miners who feel a great bond with their fellow workers underground, the Indian women who make mukluks and do beadwork together for their families, the Eskimo men who work together in handicraft co-operatives making their carvings and prints.

These activities, worthwhile in themselves, can also express values by example as well as any number of words could. Children may be made to feel a part of a group simply by identifying with its activities. The bond between the members may be strengthened by children showing one another how to do something. Physical activity can also provide a crutch for members who are too shy to join in a conversation. Even though they are silent, the fact that they are participating in the group's activity gives them a socially acceptable reason to remain. Non-verbal activities can even help to stimulate verbal communication if this is felt to be necessary. For example, ability to join in a conversation may be encouraged by simply chatting with the reticent one about what she is doing.

To this end, groups of parents have been brought together to work on projects with the long-term aim of having them take a greater interest in what goes on at school. Residence projects for parents might include making children's costumes

**One way to record
a group's behaviour**

	Group objectives	Cohesion of group	<i>leadership</i>	<i>sub-groups</i>	<i>isolates</i>
Week 1	get to know each other	not much—mainly groups of twos and threes	?	Mainly based on home communities	Margot very quiet. Elizabeth in trouble with group from Beaver Rapids.
Week 2	start group making decisions—get them discussing issues first. Find more activities	some mixing between settlement groups. Dorm project got them together more.	Annette and Mary from Salmon Lake seem to be a positive influence	Linda and Lucy have paired off—both interested in handicrafts. Also strong basketball group.	Margot still quiet, alone. Elizabeth annoying Linda and Lucy
Week 3	continue discussion. Find activity and possibly a group for Elizabeth. Plan dormitory decoration with them.				

Overall climate	Making decisions	Resolving conflicts	Activities	Child-care worker's role	
curious, polite, rather cautious	waiting for me to tell them. When no answers forthcoming, girls from Salmon Lake decide, others follow.	Girls from Salmon Lake laugh at others, use ridicule to get their own way	mainly bead-work and basketball. Linda and Susan would like something different	peace-maker, arbitrator, decision-maker (all too often)	
more relaxed, not as aware of me as last week. More natural amongst selves.	We talked about how we could live together for next eight months. Girls liked discussion.	I had to intervene to protect Elizabeth from being hurt by L. and L. She behaves worse as a result of ridicule.	group tried making beads from play-dough and painting them. Johanne very good. Displayed work to other dorms.	Still intervening, but raising discussion before making decisions.	

for a display of Indian dancing or making dolls or canoes for the children to play with. Where canoes actually were provided at one Residence by the efforts of the parents, not only have the ties between the Residence and the home community been strengthened, but the boys' pride in both their homes and the Residence has been reinforced.

In this instance, inter-group dynamics resulted from the activities of two groups—the one at home and the other in the Residence. The two could also be seen as two sub-groups of a wider Indian community. Through this inter-group activity the world of the children was extended beyond the confines of the Residence.

The physical setting

Helping the planning group to become established, David was conscious of the physical setting for the meeting. The library was selected as the most neutral room where boys and girls could mix in a quiet atmosphere. In other Residences where boys and girls share sitting rooms and common rooms, these might also have provided possibilities. Even for less serious groups, where the aim is simply to have fun, the physical setting can do much to affect the atmosphere. For this reason, vast dormitories and play areas in some Residences have been altered to provide smaller areas that can be used for a variety of different activities.

An individual or even a group can feel lost in a space that is too large. Sometimes that is all that is available, however, and the group may even have to share it with others whose activities do not mix at all well with their own. They may be able to create an area of their own by rearranging the furniture. Desks are useful for planning groups who want to get down to work on a very specific task but, gen-

erally, a comfortable, homelike arrangement that is not in too rigid a circle helps create a more relaxed group atmosphere. It is amazing in how many institutions for both adults and children the chairs are rigidly lined along the (rather remote) four walls of a room. Even people who are used to participating in groups usually like to have some guidelines as to where they should sit. If there is no provision for seating (as is also common in some old institutions), the group is likely to melt away before it even gets started.

Staff in a Residence are affected just as much as the children by their physical surroundings. In their own staff group meetings, the atmosphere can be affected merely by the environment. . . . Is there, in fact, a meeting place for staff that they can regard as their own? Are they, instead, meeting in an office or a dining room? Are either of these places appropriate for the types of staff meeting discussed earlier? Is there enough room for everyone to be seated comfortably? Is the room a stimulating one? What can the group do to make this room its own?

Recording group inter-action

As with an individual child, record keeping can be used to further one's work with a group of youngsters. It can help the child-care worker to develop understanding of the group over a period of time, to develop his powers of observation and to provide background information for the discussion of a situation with colleagues.

As a method of training oneself to be aware of what takes place in a group and to be able to mentally review what is happening, the process recording mentioned earlier is helpful. It is also very time consuming. After trying it a few times, a child-care worker might prefer to devise a quicker, less

1 "Having fun in our own way."



2 Two's company.
3 "Let's run this one again before
it goes back to the film library."



detailed method of record keeping. Making notes each week on certain areas of group functioning might be sufficient to help the child-care worker set some goals for the following week or term, and to follow the development of the group over a whole school year.

Opportunities for group experience

Residence life provides more opportunities for group experiences than are available to most children.

In the dormitory

Living together in a fairly confined space is never easy. Much give and take is required by everybody, and children must learn to respect each other's moods and the need for privacy. The atmosphere of a dormitory can be enhanced if the group as a whole is aware of the alternative approaches to group living that are open to them. For example, responsibility for chores can be left to the child-care worker or a monitor who then has to make herself unpopular by constantly exhorting individuals to do their share; or the responsibility for keeping the dormitory livable can be accepted by the group as a whole, chores organized by agreement among themselves, and with each member doing his share. Such an arrangement is only possible of course, if the worker helps the group to develop a strong *esprit de corps*. Such a spirit might be encouraged by co-operative ventures such as decorating the dormitory together.

Meals

Mealtime for a child is usually in the company of a small family group. Since it is a time to be sociable as well as to eat, a small intimate group is the happiest arrangement for children (for adults, too).

Children learn during mealtime, just as they do in any living experience. They will learn to associate mealtimes with sociability, thoughtfulness for others and table manners—or with noise, the notion of "everyman for himself" and socially unacceptable eating habits—depending on the standards that are set by the adults present. Eating with a small group of children can also be an excellent way for a child-care worker to establish rapport with them.

Mealtimes also provide an opportunity for children from the same family to get together and preserve their family group. So long as the group remains small, the older children can provide role models for the younger ones.

Recreational activities

There seem to be two major aspects to any program of recreational activities: firstly, the variety and depth of the activities, and secondly, the manner in which the program is planned. The first-mentioned will, of course, be affected by the latter. Residence recreation programs vary considerably, but the most vital and comprehensive of them seem to result from a mixture of stimulation and enthusiasm on the part of the child-care staff, and participation in planning, decision-making and responsibility on the part of the children. The overall effect is busy, colourful and imaginative.

An excellent example of such group activity is the outing. Making a journey to another part of the province, a big city, or even outside the province provides many opportunities for the group to work together, and for individual members to take on special roles and responsibilities. Planning where to go and what to do, raising money to finance it, travelling and having fun together, are all most enjoyable in the company of a group of friends. In the

“It appears that education and culture are inextricably bound together, each complements the other and one is the other. The time to realize this simple fact is long overdue for native people. A native educational system blending the old with the new based on native cultures is not only desirable, it is possible.”

Waubageshig (Harvey McCue),
“The Only Good Indian”

**“C-l-e-a-n, clean, verb active
to make bright, to scour, W-i-n,
win, d-e-r, der, winder, a casement.
When the boy knows this out of the
book, he goes and does it.”**

Mr. Squeers in “Nicholas Nickleby”, Charles Dickens

**If it chance, as sometimes chance it will,
That, though school-bred, the boy be virtuous still.**

William Cowper, “Tirocinium”

meantime, these activities also provide opportunities for individuality—one child can act as a guide; another might enjoy helping to keep the bus spic and span along the way. The excursion can be a long-term goal that provides continuous activity over both school terms, if necessary, and can thus help to keep morale high throughout the year.

Other ventures are shorter, but can also involve both planning and activity: indeed, the activity is sometimes the more satisfying for having had to be planned in advance. Putting on a play could be more rewarding if some of the costumes had to be especially designed and made; holding a cook-out could be more fun if the children had to ask the cook for wieners and buns and decide on a picnic ground of their own choosing.

For a variety of activities to suit different occasions and purposes, such as filling in a rainy afternoon, helping a group of youngsters to improve their vocabulary or cheering up a disappointed group, a child-care worker needs a ready repertoire of games and play activities. A few books and magazines are listed in the appendix, and there are many others.

Social Life

The children's social life outside the Residence can be expanded considerably through existing Residence groups, and by forming or joining groups in the local community. A wonderful example of the use of the first-mentioned method is the tradition of a musical band from a Residence making a tour of all the children's northern home communities before breaking up for the summer. By this means, not only is the group's solidarity strengthened, but members of the group have an opportunity to expand their concepts of the Indian community to which

they belong. Similarly, Residence groups of musicians and dancers who participate in community concerts and province-wide competitions encourage the children to feel they belong in this wider world. They also help to create a favourable public image for all of the Residence children.

By joining groups in the local community, or establishing new groups that include both Residence and local children, individuals have an opportunity to widen their circle of friends. Encouraging children to join local church, Girl Guide groups, and so forth also relieves the child-care staff of a continual "large group" situation, enabling them to spend more time with smaller groups or individuals.

The groups of Residence and local children do not necessarily have to be "downtown". Some very successful mixed group activities are conducted at the Residences. They include cadets, sporting groups and just visiting groups of friends. Sometimes a Residence has better recreational facilities than are available to many local children. Under these circumstances, the children from Residence often enjoy playing host, although the initiative may have to be provided by the staff.

Before bed-time

This is usually a quiet time of day. Physical energy has been used up, children have let off steam following the tensions of the school day. They are often in the mood to listen to stories and chat reflectively. It may be a time to enjoy and discuss an Indian legend or to listen to some music the group has chosen. Some child-care workers find it a good time for the group to evaluate the events of the day, to discuss what happened and settle quarrels: a good time for children to learn to listen to others—and to be heard themselves.

Chapter V

The World beyond the Residence

We have been looking at the individual child and the group of children within the Residence. There is yet another perspective from which the Residence can be seen: its role from the view-point of the wider society around it. We come back to the question that the children building the snowman in the introduction were pondering, "Where do we go from here?"

It has become something of a cliché to assume that the children's choice is "the Indian world or the white world". Perhaps fortunately, the choice is not so simple. Who, in this changing world, can precisely define "Indian" or "White"?

Let us look at the role of the Residence from the viewpoint of the "Indian world" first, since this is the children's heritage. This, incidentally, is a point that has been overlooked in many parts of our school system. The tendency for Indian students not to complete high school and even to be placed frequently in slow learner classes was certainly noticed, but it was assumed that this resulted from the children being at a "cultural disadvantage" that they had to overcome before they could progress. This idea is now refuted by educationalists who recognize that the "disadvantage" stemmed largely from the attitudes of white adults who assumed that the Indian culture was something to be "overcome" rather than something for the child to be proud of. Indeed, it is now argued that no child has a chance to succeed at school unless he has first learned to see himself as successful (or "proud") in the culture to which he was born. As far as most of the white children in school are concerned, their cultural heritage from the white world is something that is never even questioned.

In this context, therefore, one of the foremost tasks of the Residence is to ensure that the child's

natural pride in his parents, their values and traditions is not diminished by the fact that he has left them temporarily. Furthermore, there are certain Residence traditions which, with more attention paid to them, could expand the child's concept of what it is to be Indian.

A number of Indian parents have noted that the children's concept of the Indian world has been expanded in certain Residences, simply through the experience of living together with other children from a wide range of Indian communities. In some instances, two, or even three Indian languages might be spoken among the children, and they may come from places that have a traditional distrust of the unknown. As the children experience friendship through group living, suspicions are lessened and bonds created. This is a very important part of the current organization of the Indian people in Canada.

The growth of such friendships does not always occur, however, if adults make no effort to promote them. In one Residence, children from a particular district regularly had a higher rate of dropouts than any other area. Some of the staff assumed that the children from this district were simply less interested in schoolwork and achievement after leaving school. Conversations with the children later revealed, however, that they had left because they were very unhappy. Children from other areas had ganged-up on them because they were "different" and, being a minority, they had felt unable to defend themselves. In that particular instance, some appropriate discussion of traditional Indian politics, differing values and customs might have created a rather more rational atmosphere for the group to live in, instead of the persecution which took place.

Using informal group discussions, one administrator encouraged a group of senior boys to explore

"All the way from
Saskatchewan... and look
who met us at
Parliament Hill!"



their own culture in depth. Deep in conversation until even two o'clock in the morning on occasion, they discovered together the values and beauty that were expressed through Indian legend, art, customs and manners and compared these with the white culture that they had also experienced. It is no coincidence that several of these young men are fast becoming leaders of their people, while also commanding the respect of the white people with whom they work.

As well as functioning as a cultural and friendship centre for young Indians, the Residence is also in a position to develop its role as a communication centre for Indian adults. Parent advisory committees have been formed in a number of places. Usually they do most of their work in the home community but, from time to time, representatives of the home committees have met at the Residence for further discussions. This is an excellent way to strengthen the ties between the children and their homes. It does so, not merely by reminding the children that their parents are keeping an eye on them, but also by giving the parents an opportunity to see what their children are learning and doing. The generation gap in the Indian world would seem to be at least as wide as it is in the white world. By helping to diminish it, the Residences would be making it easier for the children to retain confidence in being Indian.

As an interesting side-light to this idea of welcoming Indian adults as visitors to the Residence, one Residence made its facilities available during the summer to Indian chiefs visiting the city for a meeting. Most no longer had children attending the Residence, and their memories of Residence life were those of several years ago. In the meantime, the Residence had changed considerably and so the

chief's knowledge of life there was brought up to date.

If the Indian world is fragmented, the white world is even more so, with its ethnic groups, its "long-hair" and "straight" elements, its urban and rural cultures. To talk about helping Indian youth to fit into white society is really rather impractical. Few white people are capable of making themselves comfortable in more than their own small corner of the white world, or would want to—so firmly entrenched are their own values. The point to be made here is that, just as no white person needs or wants to fit in with more than a particular segment of white society, so the Indian child should not be made to feel that he is expected to either.

White society is diversified enough to include people of many differing cultures, provided they know what values and traditions they want to retain. Evidence of this can be seen in the many non-white societies that have made use of western technology and economic systems: it can be seen in the world of art where non-white artists from Japan and Africa are as appreciated as white artists. In some places, young Indian people fit in easily with the values and life-style of the "long-hair" white youth, with whom they share a dislike for the more materialistic side of white society. There is a tendency to assume that the Indian will never fit into the white world unless he has adapted to the white concepts of time and work. It certainly helps to understand these concepts in our society, but even among white people there are a surprising number who have rejected clock-punching in favour of working according to contract, or have adopted vocations in which rigid time schedules have no part.

Because of notions of white cultural superiority (which are now recognized as archaic), there has

1The children built their own camp a few miles from Residence.



2Residence floats parade in the town's Winter Carnival and... here comes the Carnival Queen!

3A troupe of poised performers, their dancing has taken them all over Canada and the States.



been a tendency to assume that Indians should start on the lower rungs of white industrial society by becoming mechanics and nursing aides rather than administrators and doctors. So many have been given this notion of where they might fit into white society, it is little wonder that many are dubious about the benefits that white society has to offer them.

A few Indian people have become radio and television personalities, social workers, administrators and so forth, and have earned the respect of both white and Indian people. To some extent, they have had to overcome the suspicion of their own people that they have become "white" and stopped being "Indian". This has only happened because there are so few Indian people in these positions. Some of them have managed to allay the suspicion by returning to work for their people. In so doing, they are providing role models for the children who are now at school wondering what they should become.

The Residences can play a helpful part here, not only by providing Indian role models on staff, but also by introducing the children to as wide a range of "white" occupational roles as possible. Mechanics and nursing aides were, after all, "white" jobs originally, which have become acceptable to the Indian people as "Indian" as a result of familiarity. If the other possibilities presented to the children in school consist only of a few white, middle-class ideals (such as accountancy and teaching), it is quite reasonable to expect that most of the children will not become successful in these white, middle-class terms. In the Residence, however, the children can be introduced to the worlds of the natural sciences, human relations, the arts, architecture, engineering, textiles, graphics, linguistics, philosophy

—all of which can be found in Indian culture and history as well as in any other culture. This introduction can be made through the library, film projector, hobby group, dormitory project, visiting resource person, excursion and so on.

Pride in one's cultural heritage is extremely significant to a developing child or a struggling minority group. Ultimately, however, one should reach a point at which being a human being is more important. It is at this point one realizes that the world has no "centre". The Residence can help the Indian child to prepare for this realization in his later life by seeing that he gets to know people from the white worlds and to understand that they, too, are human.

There is, perhaps, a certain reluctance on the part of many Indian people to make this move without the support of white friends, since they have had unpleasant experiences with some of the more limited white people. This suggests, perhaps, that the Residences could consider developing yet another role with regard to the white society. This would entail taking the initiative to introduce white children and adults to the Indian world. From time to time, there arise opportunities when white people are welcome to attend Indian pow-wows, potlatches, friendship centres, and so forth. Like the Indian people described above, however, they are often too shy to go without a personal invitation and an Indian friend to accompany them. This is a pity. Not only are they thus likely to gain a false impression of the Indian way of life (just as Indians who have never visited a white home must lack understanding of how we live), but they also miss discovering what the Indian cultures have to offer.

Some of the Residences can provide a bridge for white children as well as Indian. Many white

children in Canada have not had much opportunity to investigate a culture that is different from their own. There is a good chance that, unless they do have such an opportunity, they will grow up believing that theirs is the only right way—that they are the centre of the world. They, too, would be the richer for having explored two worlds. Some Residences have already begun encouraging friendship links between Indian and white children, which will enable this inter-cultural exploration to become a two-way process. In some instances a start has been made by inviting the white children, through the local day schools, to make use of various facilities. Here, the children are encouraged to work and play together, rather than in competition. In at least one Residence, this has been going on for so long now that the white children do not wait for activities to be organized before coming to visit their friends. The initiative in each case came from the administrators and child-care workers of these Residences, but, once the ice was broken, both Indian and white people seemed to be pleased.

Spinning out into a wider and wider world is simply a matter of making links between people—encouraging them to communicate with each other. Before long, the strangers are no longer strange, even though they are still different. There is nothing impossible or mysterious about learning to perceive and understand the ways of another people, be they Indian, white or from yet another “world.” However, it does take time, patience and effort. The Residences have a foot in both the Indian and the white worlds. They are thus in a unique position to further this type of communication.

Perhaps some of the ideas expressed here sound a little experimental or unorthodox. They are not. Not only are they all in use in various inter-

cultural institutions throughout the world, but most of them can be observed in at least one Indian Residence or another in Canada. Some Residences have already incorporated a number of these concepts to produce happy, lively places in which children can live and grow. They are striving to ensure that the world of the Residence will remain meaningful to the children and not melt from their memories like the snowman they were building.

Appendix
Suggested readings on play,
Indian stories, etc.

Ayre, Robert	"Sketco the raven." Toronto: MacMillan, 1967.
Barbeau, Marius	"Totem poles." Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1964.
Beack, Horace P.	"Gluskap the liar and other Indian tales." The Bond Wheelwright Co., 1966.
Bradshaw, Thecla & Andre Renaud	"Here we are...where do we go? The Indian child and education." Saskatoon: The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation, n.d.
Clark, Ella E.	"Indian legends of the Pacific Northwest." Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960.
Clutesi, George	"Potlatch." Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd. 1969.
Clutesi, George	"Son of Raven Son of Deer." Sidney, B.C.: Gray's Publishing Ltd., 1967.
Desbarats, Peter (Ed.)	"What they used to tell about, Indian legends from Labrador." Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964.
Gooderham, Kent	"I am an Indian." Toronto: Dent, 1969.
Hale, Horatio	"The Iroquois book of rites." Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963.
Hofsinde, Robert (Gray-Wolf)	"Indian at Home." New York: William Morrow and Co., 1964.
Hofsinde, Robert (Gray-Wolf)	"The Indian's secret world." Toronto: McLeod, 1955.
Hunt, Sarah E. & Ethel Cain	"Games the world around." New York: Barnes, 1941.
Hunt, W. Ben	"The complete book of Indian crafts and lore." New York: Golden Press, 1964.
Mulac, Margaret	"Fun and games." New York: Harper, 1966.
Powers, William K.	"Here is your hobby: Indian dancing and costumes." New York: Putnam, 1966.
Schwartz, Alvin	"A parent's guide to children's play and recreation." New York: Collier, 1963.
Smythe, Marion & Morris Isaac	"Indian summer." Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969.

